TOTEM POLES

MARIUS BARBEAU
LEGEND FOR MAP SHOWING POSITION OF INDIAN VILLAGES

Tlingit
1. Klukwan
2. Chilkat
3. Juneau
4. Sitka
5. Telegraph Creek
6. Stikine Glacier
7. Wrangell
8. Klawock
9. Ketchikan
10. Saxman
11. Cape Fox
12. Tongas

Haida (Kaigani)
13. Tuxecan
14. Kasaan
15. Hydaburg
16. Sukkwon
17. Howkan
18. Cape Chacon

Haida
19. Langara Island
20. Frederick Island
21. Hippa
22. Virago
23. Yan
24. Massett
25. Tow Hill
26. Cape Ball
27. Skidegate
28. Tsahl
29. New Gold Harbour
30. Cumshewa
31. Skedans
32. Tanu
33. Ninstints
34. Tasu

Tsimsyan (Niskæ)
35. Nass River
36. Kincolith
37. Gitiks
38. Gitrhaveen
39. Gwunahaw
40. Gitwinkshihk
41. Gitlarhdamks
42. Volcano

Tsimsyan proper
43. Fort Simpson (1831)
44. Port Simpson (1833)
45. Metlakatla
46. Prince Rupert
47. Port Essington
48. Kitsemkælem
49. Kitsalas Canyon
50. Girrbahla
51. Kitamat
52. Hartley Bay

Tsimsyan (Gitksan)
53. Kitwanga
54. Gitwininkul
55. Gitsaygukla
56. Hazelton
57. Kispayaks
58. Kiskagas
59. Qaldo

Kwakiutl
60. Bella Bella
61. Rivers Inlet
62. Smith Inlet
63. Hope Island
64. Koskimo
65. Blunden Harbour
66. Fort Rupert
67. Alert Bay
68. Kingcome Inlet
69. Gilford Island
70. Turnour Island
71. Knight Inlet
72. Cape Mudge

Nootka
73. Quatsino
74. Klayuqahi
75. Nootka Sound
76. Friendly Cove
77. Zeballos
78. Alberni

Salish
79. Campbell River
80. Comox
81. Nanaimo
82. Vancouver
83. Victoria
84. Port Townsend
CONTENTS

Totem poles according to location .................................................. 435

Tsimsyan-Niskæs ................................................................. 435
  Gitiks and Angyadae villages (down Nass River) ....................... 435
    Pole of Negwa’on of Angyadae ........................................ 435
  Gitwinksilhkh (at the canyon of the Nass) ................................ 435
    Pole of Gwaneks and ‘Weelarhæ .................................... 435
    Half-protruding pole ................................................. 438
  Gitlarhdamks (up river) .................................................. 439
    Wolf phratry ............................................................ 439
      Pole of Towq ......................................................... 439
      Pole of ‘Neesyoq and ‘Neeskyinwaet .......................... 442
      Totem poles of ‘Neesyoq ........................................ 442
      Pole of Kyærhk .................................................... 444
      Roasted-Person .................................................... 444
      Pole of Sqateen .................................................. 445
      Spearing-the-Sky .................................................. 445
      Village-on-Tree .................................................. 448
      Packing-Robins ................................................... 448
      Two totems of Kstiyaorh ......................................... 448
      Totem pole of Kungyaw ........................................... 448
      Commemoration of Temnunrh ...................................... 449
    Eagle phratry .......................................................... 451
      Whereon-sits-the-Woodpecker .................................. 451
    Fireweed phratry ..................................................... 451
      One-Fireweed ..................................................... 451
      Whereon-sits-the-Goose ......................................... 452

Tsimsyans Proper (Port Simpson, Skeena River, Southern Tsimsyans) ........................... 453
  Port Simpson .............................................................. 453
    List of totem poles at Port Simpson ................................ 453
  Killer-Whale phratry ..................................................... 454
    Pole of Neeswarhs .................................................. 454
    The Liquiddih ....................................................... 454
    Pole called Mirage .................................................. 455
    Mirage Hlaekan ...................................................... 455
    Sun as a house-front painting ..................................... 455
    Pole of Neesloot and Weenaes (Garfield) ......................... 456
    Porpoise-like pole ................................................. 456
    Gamayaem’s flagpole ................................................. 456
    Fireweed pole ........................................................ 456
    Pole of Suhallait (Garfield) ....................................... 456
  Raven phratry ............................................................. 457
    The mortuary pole of Dakawmilsk (Garfield) ...................... 457
    Totem poles of the Sea-Lion ........................................ 457
    Pole of the Raven .................................................... 457
    Klameen pole of Neeshaw .......................................... 458
    Chief-Raven house front .......................................... 458
    Raven and Salmon-River crests .................................... 458
    Pole of the Dog ....................................................... 458
    Dog on totem poles ................................................ 459
    Bullhead poles of Nteetshleelks .................................. 459
  Wolf phratry .............................................................. 459
    Pole of Halaidem-kan .............................................. 459
    Dancer-of-Wood (Garfield) ......................................... 460
  Eagle phratry .............................................................. 460
    Dogfish-Fin of Legyarh ............................................. 460
    Pole of Lukawl ........................................................ 460
Mixed
Tsimsyan pole at the Field Columbian Exhibition (Deans)
Totem pole of Skeena River (Harriman)

Tsimsyans Proper (Canyon of the Skeena)
Robin-Woman and Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman (Myth)
Totem poles at the Kitselas Canyon (Emmons)

Fireweed and Killer-Whale phratry
Fireweed pole of Neeshiauwahs
Fireweed poles of Neesnawae
Four Welmis house posts of Laens

Raven phratry
Grandfather-of-Red-Hair pole
Poles of Larahntsk
Pole of Thunder

Island (Gitrahla) Tsimsyans
Gispewudwade phratry
Carved crests of Hale
Totem of Light (Hale)
Pole of Kiyout
Whole-Killer-Whale of Tsakawle
Garment-of-Blackfish

Raven phratry
Ten-faces-across-the-top
Poles of Wakhaw

Wolf phratry
The White-Owl

Metslakatla
Neeslaranos poles in the chapel

Southern Tsimsyans (Gitamat, Kitlawp)
Trick-Ladder of Tseebase
Where-the-Blackfish-collide
Snag Crest
Pole at Gitamat
Pole commemorating Kapskoltsh (now at Stockholm, Sweden)

Haidas
Skidegate and the southern tribes
Skidegate and the southern villages (Dawson)
Skidegate Indian village (Dawson)
Totems of Chief Skidegate (Swanton)
Totem pole carvers at Skidegate
Pole of The-Younger-Brother (Swanton)
Grave-post of Chief Skidegate (Swanton)
Sea-Monster pole (Deans)
Totem of the Rotten-House-People (Swanton)
A Gitins house with poles and posts (Swanton)
Pole and house of Cathlingscoot (Deans)
Inside house posts of Thunderbird now at Victoria (Swanton)
Inside house posts of Thunderbird at the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C. (W. A. Newcombe)
Beaver, Raven, Sun, and Grizzly pole (Deans)
Grave poles of Skidegate and Old Gold Harbour (Swanton)
Totem poles at New Gold Harbour (Jacobsen)
Totem poles of Tsahl
Migration of Hippa Island families (Swanton)
Children-of-Nastow

Cumshewa
Pole of Kohlans
Pole of Gitkagyas (Swanton)
Raven and Thunderbird pole
Skedans 504
The Skedans’ close association with Gitrhahla (Swanton) 504
Pole of Neeswas (Swanton) 512
Tanu 512
Poles of Tanu (W. A. Newcombe) 512
Grizzly and Killer-Whale 512
Ninstints 526
The Ninstints tribe becoming extinct (Deans) 526
The Ninstints, described by Swanton 526
The Ninstints tribe as now described 528
The Ninstints Eagles (Swanton) 530
Whale-Slave’s totem pole (Deans) 530
Anget totem 534
Raven with protruding tongue 534
Unidentified 538
Killer-Whale totem in Bremen, Germany 538
House posts at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England 538
Grizzly Bear and Raven of Massett (C. F. Newcombe) 546
McGill totem pole in Montreal 553
Massett group 561
Northern villages of the Haidas in 1878 (Dawson) 561
Tian and Hippah Island 563
An inside pole of Edensaw at Kyusta (Swanton) 563
Kyusta village 563
Yakun village 565
Raven of Kaskun 565
Ginaawan pole (Swanton) 567
Pole at Fox Warren, England (Tyler) 567
Pole at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England (Tyler) 567
Raven totem of Massett, now in Jasper Park 568
Who carved the Jasper pole 570
Old Massett 570
Stihltaj’s pole at Massett (Swanton) 570
Qingi poles and beams of Massett (Swanton) 570
Pole of Wewe’s wife at Massett (Swanton) 570
Pole of Qogis (Swanton) 571
Pole of Great Breakers (Swanton) 571
Pole of He-whose-voice-is-obeyed (Swanton) 572
Pole of Kuiyans (Swanton) 572
Kaigani Haidas (Southern Alaska) 575
Kaigani Haidas (Niblack) 575
Origin of the Kaigani Haidas (Swanton) 578
Migrations of the Haidas (Beynon) 585
Kasaan village (Niblack) 585
Totem poles of Old Kasaan (Corser) 585
House at Old Kasaan (Keithahn) 591
House posts in Chief Skowl’s house (Niblack) 591
Mortuary columns near Howkan (Niblack) 591
Poles at Sukkwan (Keithahn) 599
Old-Witch pole of Sukkwan (Keithahn) 599
Tlingits 602
Southern villages 602
Pole from Tongas (Deans) 602
Totems of Tongas (Corser) 602
Mortuary column of Chief Kootenah (Niblack) 608
Fog-Woman and Kudjuk at Ketchikan (Keithahn) 608
Poles at Tuxecan (Keithahn) 609
Wrangell 610
Totem poles of Wrangell (Andrews) 610
Totems of Shaiks 610
Wolf totem of 1869 (Andrews) 618
Wolf totem (Corser) 618
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pole of Katishan (Swanton)</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koadashan totem poles (Corser)</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koadashan of the Tarqueneedy (Corser)</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadashan and Goonyah poles (Corser)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave posts (Swanton)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave posts of Tcukanedi (Swanton)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave post Stuwuqa (Swanton)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave of Shustocks (Niblack)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graves at the Bear Totem store (Corser)</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing Cane (Swanton)</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayak totem pole (Corser)</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver of Kilisu and Kicksetti totem myth (Corser)</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totem of Kolteen (Keithahn)</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Tagcook pole (Keithahn)</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil's Thumb (Keithahn)</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goonya totem (Corser)</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Tlingits</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totem poles at Sitka (Corser)</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain-House of the Ravens (Shotridge)</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House posts of the Wolf House at Sitka</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totems at Kake (Kindle)</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitka totems (Corser)</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlingit house posts (Krause)</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bella Coolas</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House portal at the old pagan village</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House frontal pole of Tallio</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two doorway carvings (Deans)</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two house frontals at Tallio (W. A. Newcombe)</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House post collected by Jacobsen for Chicago</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Clelaman's memorial</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwakiutls</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Rupert</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyinanuk family of Tongas (Tlingit)</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Hunt's totem pole</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hunt totem pole</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statue To-Speak-Through (Hope Island, Boas)</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemoration of Hegwugyelagwaw</td>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument of Kwakwabales</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graveyard pole of Tsawlarhlhehlilaakwe</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak-Through post</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alert Bay and other Kwakiutl villages.</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunderbird of Wawkyas</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking Stick of Chief Wawkyas</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking Stick of Chief Wakius (Goodfellow)</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisa-katulas (Goodfellow)</td>
<td>681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raven totem (Corser)</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raven-of-the-Sea</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun totem</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinsintie post (Boas)</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sesarlawles' pole</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullhead graveyard pole</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graveyard pole of Tsaqalahl</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doorway to a Koskimo house (Shotridge)</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newettee totem pole (Boas)</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tsonoqoa of Old Nahwittee</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pole of the Denarhtoq (Knight Inlet)</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles of Tsawadi (Knight Inlet)</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside poles of Tsawadi (W. A. Newcombe)</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post of Sadi (Knight Inlet)</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House posts showing Dsonoqua</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House posts of Lelarha (Boas)</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House posts of the Nannimoach (Deans)</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Commemoration statues (Boas) ........................................... 702
Bella Bella pole 1 ............................................................ 702
Bella Bella pole 2 ............................................................ 704
Carved posts of Nahwee (2) .............................................. 704
House posts of Cape Mudge ............................................. 708
Totem poles of Alert Bay (Corser) .................................... 708
Paintings and carved posts (Leeson photos) .................... 723

Nootkas ............................................................. 724
Nootkas had no totem poles (Emmons) .............................. 724
No totem poles formerly (Sapir) ...................................... 726
Bear and Seal carved posts of Alberni ................................ 726
Bear and Anitsatnas (Clayoquot) ...................................... 731
Quatsino totem pole ..................................................... 731
Skate painting of Alberni ................................................ 731
Inside-house poles at Sarita (W. A. Newcombe) .................. 731
Welcome poles at Ohiat (W. A. Newcombe) ....................... 731

Salishes ............................................................ 731
Totem poles and posts among the Salish (Barnett) ............. 731
South of Deep Bay (Barnett) .......................................... 731
House post at Comox (Emmons) ...................................... 753
Salish inside-house poles (W. A. Newcombe) .................... 759
Inside-house pole (W. A. Newcombe) ............................... 759
Grave posts from Ruby Creek (W. A. Newcombe) ............. 760

Synthesis and compilation ........................................... 762
The growth of heraldry or totemism on the north Pacific Coast 762
Mythical beings and crests (Ravenhill) ............................ 768
Crests of the Gitksan tribes ........................................... 768
Crests and totems (Deasy) ............................................. 769
Lack of system among Haidas, Tsimshians, and Tlingits (Swanton) 769
Lack of uniformity in classification of crests among Haidas, Tsimshians, and Tlingits (Swanton) 769
Comparative study of myths embodied in totem poles (Boas) 770
Spider Woman and Butterfly myths in Siberia (Bogoras) ...... 770
Mythical and folklore themes (Thompson) ....................... 770

Numbers ............................................................ 772
Carved columns in the north (Deans) .............................. 772
Appraisal (Dawson) .................................................... 772
Tuxecan poles in 1922 .................................................. 773

Painted house-front and doorway carvings ....................... 773
Native paints (Niblack, 1885) ........................................ 773
Painting on poles and house fronts (Emmons, 1930) ............. 773
House-front paintings (Emmons) ..................................... 773
How totem poles were painted (Keithahn) ......................... 773
Painted houses among the Tlingits (Swanton) ..................... 774
House-front paintings among the Tsimshians ..................... 774
Why the Gitandaw have house fronts painted ..................... 777
House-front paintings in a Gitksian myth ......................... 777
Painted houses of Hale (Gitrhahla) ................................ 780
Mural carving and painting at Gitrhahla ......................... 780
House paintings of Where-opens-the-Sky (Gitrhahla) ......... 780
Painted house fronts among the Kwakiutls (Deans) ............. 782
Killer-Whale at Lirhsiw (Boas) ...................................... 782
Painted house fronts of the Kwakiutls (Boas) ..................... 782
Crests painted on house fronts of the Kwakiutls .......... 782
House-front paintings among the Coast Salishes (Boas) ........ 783

Monumental carvings .................................................. 783
Classification, among the Haidas (Dawson) ....................... 783
Types of carved poles (Swanton) .................................... 783
Totem poles and mortuary columns (Niblack) ..................... 785
viii

Types of carved columns (W. A. Newcombe) .......... 785
Kaigani mortuary columns (Niblack) ............... 785
Memorial poles among the Tlingits (Swanton) .......... 785
Types of totem poles among the Tlingits (Jones) .......... 786
Grave posts among the Haidas (Dawson) .......... 786
Types of totem poles (Keithahn) .......... 786
Inside house posts among the Tlingit (Keithahn) .......... 786
Types of Haida totem poles .......... 787
Names for totem poles among the Niskake .......... 787
Tlingit name for totem pole (Jones) .......... 787
Comparisons between Tsimsyans and Haidas .......... 787
Definition of totem pole (Raley) .......... 787
Definition of totem pole (Dudoward) .......... 788
Stone pillar of Gitsalas .......... 788
Models of poles and posts among the Haidas (Swanton) .......... 788
Substitutes for totem poles (Garfield) .......... 788

Totem carvers, technique .......... 789
Types of carvers among the Kitka'ata Tsimsyans .......... 789
How a Haida pole was made (Deans) .......... 791
The old house with totem at Kayan (Swanton) .......... 791
Selection and carving of a pole among the Haidas .......... 791
Method of selecting and carving a pole (Keithahn) .......... 793
The technique of carving totem poles (Keithahn) .......... 795
Carvers at Wrangell .......... 795
How a totem pole was erected (Keithahn) .......... 795
How Haida poles were made (Deans) .......... 796
Technique of the Gitksans .......... 796
Gitksan carvers of totem poles .......... 798
Kwakiutl totem-pole carvers .......... 798
The northern frontier of red cedar (Keithahn) .......... 800
Northern frontier of totem poles (Keithahn) .......... 800
Evolution of design among the Tlingit (Swanton) .......... 800
Abalone shells on totem poles .......... 800

The growth of totem-pole carving — early records .......... 801
I. Early travel and exploration .......... 801
1. Captain James Cook (1778) .......... 801
2. Captain George Dixon (1785) .......... 801
3. de la Pérouse (1785) .......... 803
4. Haswell (1787) .......... 803
5. John Meares (1788) .......... 803
6. John Bartlett (1790) .......... 803
7. Etienne Marchand (1791) .......... 803
8. Manuel Quimper (1790) .......... 805
9. Hoskins (1790) .......... 806
10. Captain Joseph Ingraham (1791) .......... 806
11. Captain George Vancouver (1792) .......... 806
12. Jacinto Caamaño (1792) .......... 808
13. Boit (1792) .......... 809
14. Camille de Roquefeuille (1816) .......... 809
15. Capitaine Péron (1824) .......... 810

II. Comments by later observers .......... 810
17. James Deans (1862–1870) .......... 810
18. James Deans (1870–1880) .......... 810
19. James G. Swan (1874) .......... 813
20. James Deans (1860's) .......... 814
21. James Deans (1884) .......... 816
22. A. P. Niblack (1888) .......... 817
23. J. R. Swanton (1904) .......... 817
24. John W. Arctander (1909) .......... 817
25. Mrs. Lewis Shotridge (1913) .......... 818
26. Livingston F. Jones (1914) .......... 818
27. Edward L. Keithahn (1945) .......................... 818
28. Fred S. Johnston (1947) .......................... 818
29. Poles in Alaska in the 1880's (Keithahn) ....... 818
30. The age of totem poles (Keithahn) ............... 819
31. The art of the Northwest Coast is recent (Keithahn) 821
32. The age of totem poles (W. A. Newcombe) ..... 821
33. Nass origin of detached poles (Raley) ............ 821
34. Age of the Gitksan poles on upper Skeena River 821

III. In mythology and tales .......................... 821
35. The Raven makes a totem pole (Swanton) ......... 821
36. Dreaming of totem poles ........................ 822
37. The first totem (Paul) ............................ 824

IV. Opinions of the Tsimsyan and Haida informants as to age of art of carving and erecting totem poles 825
38. Edensaw ........................................... 825
39. Mrs. Susan Grey .................................... 825
40. Henry Young ....................................... 825
41. Alfred Young ....................................... 828
42. Dennis Wood ....................................... 828

Early culture contacts on the Northwest Coast .... 831
Early Russian contacts in Alaska ..................... 831
From 1785 to 1795 (Quimby) ......................... 833
Haida carvers widely travelled ....................... 837

Workshop items ....................................... 837
Sources of information ................................ 843
Bibliography ......................................... 845
Addenda ............................................... 848

Conservation and restoration of totem poles ....... 849
Conservation of totem poles ........................ 849
Totem restoration in recent decades (Keithahn) .. 854
Totem poles destroyed (Keithahn) .................... 855
Totem poles at Sitka not really Sitkan (Keithahn) 856
Restoration of Gitksan totem poles .................. 856
Restoration of totem poles among the Tsimsyans .... 859
Why fallen totems are abandoned ..................... 859

Illustrations

Plates 187 to 561 ....................................... Through text

See Details of illustrations .......................... 860
Totem Poles According to Location

TSIMSYAN-NISKÀES
GITIKS AND ANGYADÆ VILLAGES (down Nass River)

The Pole of Negwa'on of Angyadæ, on an island above Angyadæ, Nass River, according to Chief Weehawn (Moody); William Beynon, interpreter, 1927.

This “very old” pole was named after its owner, Negwa'on (Long-Arms). His was a narhnorh or spirit name. Negwa’on belonged to the same Wolf clan as Sqateen of Gitlarhdamks up river. At the feast when this name was assumed, the new bearer dramatized it by wearing appended very long arms with sharp ends. The lowest figure on the totem pole at one time also had long arms, but these disappeared long ago. The island where it stood amid tall cotton trees (which made photographing difficult) was called Happy-Place (antegwala).

Its name was Play-Pole (of the Bear) — an’maisernerh: where plays — or again it was the Watch-Pole of the Bear.

GITWINKSIHLK (at the canyon of the Nass)

The Pole of Gwaneks and 'Weelarhae of the Fireweed (Gisrast) group of Gitwinksihlku at the canyon of Nass River. It stood on the south side of the canyon on the deserted village site named Gwnahaw. Purchased in 1929 by the author for the Museum of the American Indian, New York City, it now stands in the court of the Annex of this museum in the Bronx.

Description. This pole, 40 or 50 feet tall, was known under the name of Niqanskyi (lies over the top), from the figure at the top. The bow represents the Rainbow (marhe), a crest in this clan. The next emblem (2) is the Black-fish or Killer-Whale (’nerhl); (3) One-legged being (negut-ligirhna’ts), spoken of in a myth; (4) Sun (hlawqs); (5) unidentified by the informants; (6) Grizzly-Bear-of-the-Sea (mediegem-dzawey’aks).
(Upper group) Old totems at the abandoned village of Angyadae on Nass River
(Lower group) Totems and graves at the same village
Graveyard figure at Gitiks on Nass River

The pole of Negwa’on of Angyadae
Function, carver, age. It was known as “Henry Adzeks’ father’s pole” and has been raised in commemoration of a former Gwaneks. Erected about 1911, according to one informant (about 1892, according to another), it had been carved by Qaderh (of the house of Kyærhk, Wolf, of the village of Gitlarhdamks on the river above). Other informants (William Moore and Mrs. Adzeks) claimed that it had been carved by Bryan Peel (Nigwen) of Gitlarhdamks. But, at best, Peel could only have assisted, being too young then for the full job. (He was still living in 1929.) Another pole, exactly the same in appearance, is said to have stood on the other side of the canyon where the present village stands; it was burned about 1892 in the fire that destroyed the settlement and most of the poles.

Old Neesyawq of Gitlarhdamks stated that the new pole was already standing at Gwunahaw two years before the fire.

Informants. Peter Neesyawq, the old Wolf chief of Gitlarhdamks, and Henry Adzeks, Agwilarhæ, an Eagle, of Gitwinksihilk, 1929; William Beynon, interpreter.)

The Half-Protruding pole (ksede-phitku) of Arhtimenawdzek, Wolf chief, at Gwunahaw, the deserted village on the south side of the canyon of Nass River, opposite the village of Gitwinksihilk. It was the second pole of this family.

Description. This pole is a plain, round shaft, quite tall — 40 or 50 feet — with a single human figure with a box at the top. The figure and the box gave its name to this monument.

Carver, age. It was one of the first poles erected at Gwunahaw, about 1890. Bryan Peel (Ligwen, in Wideldal’s house, Fireweed formerly of the Gitsemkælem tribe on the mid-Skeena) carved it. His father, of Gwunahaw, was Gwandeman. Peel began carving poles by assisting Qaguhlan. Then he helped Neeskinwætk in the work on Toq’s pole at Gitlarhdamks. This pole now stands on the top of the hill in the park of the Canadian National Railways at Prince Rupert. (Peel, about 1920, carved the figure with a war club at the top.) His next job was carving the pole of Gwanemks in Gwunahaw village.

(Informant, Peter Neesyawq, Wolf chief of Gitlarhdamks, 1929; William Beynon, interpreter.)
(Left) Bear-Mother pole at Gwunahaw, canyon of the Nass
(Centre) The Half-protruding pole of Arhtimenawdzek at Gwunahaw
(Right) A pole, half burned, at the canyon of the Nass

**Gitlarhdamks (up river)**

**Wolf Phratry**

**The Pole of Towq**, head of a Wolf clan of Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River. It was the ninth in the row from the uppermost pole along the Nass river front.

*Description*. It stood in front of Towq’s house, called Ladder-of-Slabs (*kanarhsem-daaeh*). Its figures, from the top, are: (1) Kamlugyides—Person wearing Woods (*kaidem-wudenya*), a hat of ermine (*kaidem’meksih*), and
The pole of Towq at Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River. Now at Prince Rupert

holding a war club (haralar) — illustrating a myth belonging to the clan; (2) Bear (smaiḥ) whose full name is Bear-broken-free or Sitting-Bear holding cubs on each hand (smaiyen-kalp-kan) — also referring to a myth; (3) Person-looking-out-from (kwilgyan-ksi-gyet) — spoken of in a myth; (4) Human-steps or People-of-the-ladder (kanærhsem-dæik), a special crest carved for the runways of a canoe or for launching their canoes — also explained in a myth; (5) a Person (?); (6) Thunderbird (Skyemsem); Towq used only the carved bill of this mythical bird; (7) Double-headed Person (kaodirh-gyet).
Totem poles at Gitlarhdamks, upper Nass River.
The pole to the right is that of Towq, now in Prince Rupert
Function, carver, age. Erected in commemoration of a former Towq. It now stands on the hilltop in the park of the Canadian National Railways, at Prince Rupert. Carved by 'Neeskyinwætk, assisted by Kyærh (Bryan Peel), about 50 years ago.

(Informant, Dennis Wood of Gitlarhdamks.)

The Pole of 'Neesyoq and 'Neeskyinwæt, members of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks, on upper Nass River. It stood seventh from the uppermost in the row of poles along the river front.

Description. It stood in front of a house called House-of-the-Sky (wilplarhæ) and belonged to the pisaen type (hollow-back and carved all over). Its figures, from top to bottom, are: (1) mythical man with the deep sea cockle adhering to a rock (kal'own) holding his hand fast — illustrating a myth; (2) the head of the Sperm Whale (hiloopoon), the jaw hanging down; (3) Person (gyet) wearing a garment with many faces on it, probably the Garment-of-Marten (gwisha’dao’tk); (4) the bird Gyaibelk, at the bottom of the pole. This mythical bird was also used as a head-dress (amhallait) and as a spirit (narhnorh or narhnok).

Function, carver, age. Erected in memory of a former 'Neesyoq by the present (in 1927) chief of the same name, an old man. It no longer exists. Carved by Paraet’Nærhl, assisted by his son, about eighty years ago.

(Informant, Dennis Wood of Gitlarhdamks.)

Totem Poles of 'Neesyoq, head of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks.

Of the two totem poles belonging to 'Neesyoq, the older rotted away and fell. It was the monument of Kwistarhkaiks. The second pole was erected near the spot now occupied by the house of Sqateen when the present 'Neesyoq (in 1927) was still young; he had just been married and raised to the rank of chief. When it was cut down with most of the others in 1918, it was already getting weak. A young man climbed the pole — it was 10 fathoms high — and tied a rope near the top. After he had come down, the pole was pulled down; it broke into pieces.

The crests on the second pole were: (1) Deep-Sea-Cockle (takahla’on), which had caught the hand of an ancestor and held it fast until he was drowned by the rising tide, according to the tradition of this clan. The carving representing the cockle was saved, as it was still intact after the pole was destroyed. But a “silly boy spoilt it, when his elders were away hunting.” (2) Gyebelurh, a large mythical bird in the water. (3) Red Sun at sunset on the sea (hlawqsem-larh-sa’ildem). According to the tradition, some members of this household and their Wolf friends of Gitlarhdamks once went in their canoes to trade with the Gitrahla tribe of Tsimsyans, on Porcher Island out to sea. On their way they beheld with surprise the red sun before it set into the sea and considered it a supernatural experience. They took it as their own exclusive crest. Their surprise was due to their being an up-river people, used to walking the trails rather than travelling in canoes. (4) Garment of Marten (gwis-hadawtk), spoken of in the clan tradition. On the totem pole, this crest had the natural appearance of a marten (perhaps more than one), head and all. (5) Graded house of Beechwood (da’gam-kalp), which was two steps deep. Four Bears were carved on
Totem poles at Gitlarhdamks
the main posts of the house. (The Bears on the posts of the family of Sqateen were different — they stood in the corners of the da’aq.) (6) Head of the Whale (hlpīn), which was conquered during a “war” long ago, before the eruption of the Nass River volcano. According to tradition, a quarrel broke out between the Wolves (of the ‘Neesyawq group) and the Eagles (of Menesk), who owned the Whale. In the same fight, while they were capturing the Whale head, Menesk took away from them the head of the Grizzly Bear.

Before the eruption of the volcano (it is still remembered), there was a big waterfall in Kimwedzerh River. At the foot of the falls, a tall slim pole stuck out of the water in the whirlpool. It was called Spearing-the-Sky (hagyaihl-larhæ). At its top squatted a bear. At the middle of the pole was another Bear. Sqateen took this Bear pole for his crest, as also did Kyærhk, another Wolf clansman. Two or three discoverers, however, could not use the same experience in exactly the same way. That is why Sqateen’s pole is called Spearing-the-Sky (hagyaehl-larhæ). Kyærhk shows the two bears on his pole, and the exclusive name of the pole is Climbing-Bears (annmisemrhk: Where-the-Bears-climb). Sqateen’s pole, on which his Bear was carved, was cut down about 1918.

The Pole of Kyærhk, chief of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks. It was the eleventh from the uppermost in the row along the Nass river front.

Description. It stood in front of a house called Terraced-house-of-Stone (takanlaw’p). The figures on the pole, from the top down, are: (1) Hat-of-Coming-towards-you (kaidem’wudenya), representing a hunter with a bow (the object of a traditional song still remembered by the informant); (2) Prince-of-Bears (hlkuwalsegm-smaih); (3) Lu’ayoq, a person in the myth directing the guests what side to take; (4) a Person; (5) a long-billed bird, perhaps the Thunderbird (skyemsem); (6) Den-of-the-Bear (spesmaih) and a small bear; (7) two human figures, one above the other; (8) two birds side by side; (9) Thunderbird or Mountain Eagle (skyemsem) with long bill turned in; (10) Man-of-the-Rotting-Kelp (gyadem-s’aurh).

Function, carver, age. Erected in memory of a former Kyærhk, about sixty years ago. It was cut down in sections at the time of the religious craze of 1918 and then used to support the house of the chief. In 1927 the author purchased it for the Royal Ontario Museum, where six sections are preserved. It was carved about sixty years ago by ‘Arhtsiprh of the house of Gwaneks at the canyon village of Gitwinksihlk. He was assisted in his work by Paul Hllederh of the Fireweed group at Angyaedae village, farther down the same river. It was said to have been a very tall pole.

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)

Roasted-Person. The pole of Kstiyaorh called Roasted-Person (anyawskyet), in a Wolf clan of Gitlarhdamks. It was the thirteenth pole from the uppermost in the row along the Nass river front.

Description. It stood in front of the house of Kstiyaorh, a house with steps downwards inside (da’aq) called “da’aq into which a man was taken” (dagomlutrahgyet); after the guests passed the entrance, it was blocked and nobody was allowed to leave. This was in commemoration of a former Kstiyaorh who had killed Temnonerh of Gitlarhdamks, above the canyon
of Skeena River, after having imprisoned him in his house and roasted him in retaliation for a raid of the Gitsalas tribe of the same river. The name of the pole also alluded to this ancient deed. The figures on the pole were: (1) Temnonerh, who stood at the top with a stick through the head, this being called roasting stick (anyaw) (Although the name of this figure was never announced because of the then friendly relations between the tribes, everybody knew what it meant.); (2) Tsirhyaqyaq, a person upside down, perhaps a similar allusion; (3) Wolf erect (kyibu); (4) Double-headed Person (kaodirhgyet), at the bottom.

Carver, age. A short pole, about seven arms (double) in length; it was carved by Paræt’nærhl about eighty years ago. It no longer exists.

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)

The Pole of Sqateen, member of a Wolf clan of Gitlarhdamks. Its name is now forgotten. It was the sixth from the uppermost along the river front.

Description. It stood in front of the house of Sqateen, of the ptsæn type (hollow-back and carved), and was of the terraced (da’aq) type. This house bore the name mentioned in the nursery song of the owners: Where-outwards-swims-with (wiluks-tiyoret). Its carved figures, from the top down, were: (1) Garment-with-human faces (kwis-kalyæn or qagakalyæn), representing a man going out at night to molest women (illustrative of a myth owned by this family), used as a crest, also as a narhnok (spirit); (2) Weeping-Woman, a carved figure with a short nose and a large labret in the lower lip (mentioned in the same myth); (3) Wolf (kyibu); (4) Mountain-Goat (matih) standing; (5) Bear (smaih) of the type called Gilarhkan.

Function, carver, age. Erected in memory presumably of Gyælre and Rhain; former members of Sqateen’s household. It no longer exists. It was carved by Paræt’Nærhl, of Gitlarhdamks, about seventy years ago.

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)

Spearing-the-Sky. The pole of Sqateen called Spearing-the-Sky (Agyet-larhæ). Sqateen was the chief of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River. It was the eighth from the uppermost pole in the row along the river front.

Description. It stood in front of Na’uq’s house of the group and was called Hole-in-the-Sky (wulnakarh-larhæ). It was one of the tallest in this village — about 12 or 14 arm’s lengths (outspread arms). It represented: (1) Eagle, which alluded to the personal origin of the owners; (2) two Bears emerging from the waters (two figures of the Bear); and belonged to the kun type (round). It was meant as an illustration of a myth of origin. The ownership of this crest was the subject of a great controversy, as it was also claimed by Kyaerhk, the chief of another household at Gitlarhdamks. Both Kyærhk and Sqateen considered it their own, as far as can be remembered.

Function. It was erected by a chief bearing the name of Sqateen, who was very old when last seen — the fourth Sqateen from the present, in 1927. The name of the carver is no longer known.

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)
Totem poles of Gitlarhdamks before 1903
Totem poles of Gitlarhdamks
Village-on-Tree. The Tsapem-larhkan (Village-on-Tree) pole of Kyailran, a member of the Sqateen group in the Wolf phratry, at Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River. It stood second from the uppermost pole, that of the Bear of Tserhqan, in the row along the river front. “Village-on-Tree” is a theme in a myth belonging to the group.

Description. It stood in front of a house named Hole-through-the-Sky (wilnagarhl-larks: where-against-hole-sky) and was a plain round pole (a kan) with a carved human figure sitting at the top. One hand of this person was raised to his head, and he was sitting on the other.

Function, carver, age. In memory of whom? It no longer exists. Carved by Paræt’Naerhl of Gitlarhdamks, it may have been the earliest pole erected in this village, about ninety or one hundred years ago.

(Portrait, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks on the upper Nass.)

Packing-Robins. The pole called Packing-Robins-Out-Through-The House (kalksakakahweldzeh) of Larh’wilgyit, member of the Wolf clan of Gyilwilnakyaæ. It was the twentieth pole down from the uppermost, along the river front at Gitlarhdamks.

Description. The figures at the top of the pole were: (1) Person standing with the Robin on his shoulder, representing the name of the house “Packing the Robin through the house”; (2) at the base of the pole, the Bear (smah), with two other Bears above, one on top of the other. The name of one of them was Rhpelemgyet (Half-Person, meaning Bear person), surmounted by two carved bears. This was an allusion to a myth belonging to the clan.

Function, carver, age. It stood in memory of Darh’wilgyit and was erected about sixty years ago, one of the latest carved by Sqateen and Sabam’naeq. As Sqateen was a member of Gyisransnat clan of the Wolf phratry, he could carve a totem for another Wolf who belonged to a Gyisransnat, as both clans did not consider themselves related.

(Portrait, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)

Two totems of Kstiyaorh of Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River.

Function, carver, age. Of the two poles commemorating a former Kstiyaorh, one was quite old, and its base had rotted when it was cut down. It had been carved by Paræt-Næqht, member of an Eagle clan of Gitlarhdamks. The other was erected about sixty years ago, in memory of Ksedo’l of the same household. The informant helped in putting it up. Its carvers were Sqateen (chief of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks) and Naqum-wilgyawks of the same household. Both these poles were destroyed. According to the informant, the present (1927) Kstiyaowrh: “The people at one time had a fit [at the time of a revival, about 1918] and chopped down the totem poles. They did not want anybody to keep them up. They cut down ours too. They later burnt them up.”

Totem Pole of Kungyaw, member of a Wolf clan at Gitlarhdamks on Nass River.
According to Menæsk, the old chief of this group of Eagles at Gitlarhamds (William Beynon acting as interpreter, in 1929), the crests of Kungyaw used on totem poles were: (1) Bear (smaih) on the pole then (in 1929) standing at the rear of Menæsk’s house; the same Bear had been used on an older pole; (2) Two-headed-Person (gaodek-gyet); this crest, also used by Hrstiyaorh, in the same village, was car­ved at the base of a pole now fallen; (3) Between-Thighs (wuden-bebe) this was a ceremonial entrance—the guests entered be­tween the thighs of a large carved figure forming the doorway; (4) the bird called Yimrhql, a crest re­sembling the Gyaibelk, also a crest of the same clan; it was represented on the pole.

Another informant, Michel Inspringbright, a native of Gitwinhilkul, liv­ing in Gitlarhamds, stated that the Bear on this pole was called Prince-of-Bears (hluwâhlksehkem-smaih). It had been acquired from the house of Kyaerhk, of the same vil­lage.

Commemoration of Temnunrh. The Totem Pole commemorating the killing of Temnunrh, the Gispeuwudwe chief at Gitlawp Lake, by Ksti­yaorh, chief of the Wolves at Gitlarhamds.

Tradition. The Fireweed clan from Temlarham, in the course of its migrations down Skeena River, was looking for new hunting and fishing grounds. When they arrived at Qlu’iyu (In-Hiding) below the canyon (at
the place where Usk now is), they found there two groups of earlier occupants: Kstiyaorh, head of the Wolves, and Hrhpilarhae of the Kanhaq at Kitsembkalehem. Very soon a clash broke out among the earlier occupants and the newcomers. This goes back to the time when the mythical Beavers dammed up the Skeena and made a great lake here.

Neeshaiwaerhs' nephews for this reason decided to move again down the river and look for other hunting territories where they would find mountain goat (*matik*). Upon reaching Kle'andzeh, they ascended it to its headwaters. There, on the Ktsemhodzarh, they found a place where game was plentiful and also streams where salmon abounded. They returned to their camp at Qu'i'yu and told their chief Neeshaiwaerhs about their discovery.

As these hunting grounds belonged to Kstiyaorh, the chief of the Wolves, a feud developed between the owners and the interlopers. The Wolf occupants gave warning: “You people had better leave this country, for we will always be at strife.” Neeshaiwaerhs agreed to this but did not take his leave early enough. The Wolves attacked the Fireweed clan and killed Temnunrh, one of its chiefs. They took his corpse and roasted it on an open fire, then exposed it in the open.

At a later period, the Wolf branch of the clan at Gitlarhdamks, on upper Nass River, was about to erect a totem pole in memory of this event. They planned to show the killing of Temnunrh in the form of a man at the end of a pole thrust through his body. But they were stopped in this venture by the Gitsalas people of Fireweed extraction who threatened to attack the Wolves. Because of this threat, the pole was never erected. This happened at the time when the first guns brought in by the white people appeared in the country.

(Informant, Walter Geo. Wright, Gispewudwade chief of Gitsalas; William Beynon recorded this narrative in 1927.)
EAGLE PHRATRY

**Whereon-sits-the-Woodpecker.** The Pole of Gyilarhnameren called Whereon-sits-the-woodpecker (*wilnidahl-gyihl'wins*); the owner was a member of the Menæsk Eagle clan of Gitlarhdamks. It stood on the river front, the nineteenth from the uppermost pole.

*Description.* It was a round pole (*kan*), four arms (double) in length, supporting a bird figure, that of the Woodpecker.

*Carver, age.* It was carved by Sqateen of a Wolf clan in Gitlarhdamks, about seventy years ago.

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks.)

FIREWEED PHRATRY

**One-Fireweed.** Totem Pole of Gamrhsnarh, head of the local Fireweed household of the Gisransnaet group at Gitlarhdamks.

Among the nine crests of this clan, as listed by John Davis, an old member of this family (Charles Barton, interpreter), a few that actually appeared on their totem poles at Gitlarhdamks were:

1. Goose (*haaq*);
2. Grouse (*pstæ'ï*);
3. One-Fireweed (*kyelaast*);
4. Blackfish (*’næqhi*), the fin-back whale.

According to tradition, this group once belonged to the Gitsegyukla tribe on upper Skeena River and took to flight. When they were travelling in the wilds, they saw a [spirit-like] goose and killed it. Thereafter they used it as a crest (*ayuks*) and composed a song to commemorate the event. The Grouse was acquired in the same way; at first it was a *narhnok* (a spirit). Eventually they built a house, called it One-Fireweed (*kyelaast*), and erected a totem pole at Gitlarhdamks, at the top of which was perched the Goose (*haaq*).

*Function, carver, age.* The only pole they ever had was the *kyelaast*, which was cut down about forty years ago. It had been erected in memory of Pi'l and
Hæwaw', about sixty years ago. Their house was graded (a da'q). It was carved by Weenawq, member of an Eagle clan at Gitwinksihil, at the canyon of the Nass.

Whereon-sits-the-Goose (wilidaehl-hark) pole of Pi'l, member of a Fireweed clan. It stood third from the topmost pole in the row along the river front at Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River.

Description. It stood in front of a house called Tarem-hæst (Fireweed terraced or with da'arh grades). It was a plain pole (kan), about four arms in length. On its top sat one carving, that of a goose with wings folded.

Function, age, carver. It was erected about seventy years ago and no longer exists. In memory of whom? Carver?

(Informant, Dennis Woods of Gitlarhdamks, upper Nass.)
TSIMSYANS PROPER
(Port Simpson, Skeena River, Southern Tsimsyans)

PORT SIMPSON

List of Totem Poles at Port Simpson (Tsimsyan), within the memory of the old informants; recorded by William Beynon in 1918 (with a map of the various tribes).

1. The Gidzarhlæhl tribe on the island under the leadership of Neeshhart. No totem poles here, but there were some belonging to this tribe at Qrado (Metlakatla).

2. The Gitla?n tribe, under Neesyaranat (informant, Herbert Wallace). The tribe had four poles: (a) the pole of Neeswihamawtk (Wolf), a long round pole, with a Crane or Stork at the top, known under the name of Qasqaws (crane) pole; (b) the pole of Neeshlaranus (Wolf); (c) the pole of Bullhead (kayat) (Raven), representing the Bullhead standing outside the doorway through which the guests entered; (d) the pole of Neesyalawps (Raven), which stood on Gispwarlawts territory, with the permission of paternal relatives.

3. The Gitandaw tribe. Its totem poles were: (a) the pole of Neesyaragunat (Raven), called Pole-of-Bullhead (ptsænem-kayat), similar to that of Neestedaw; (b) the pole of Lueleq (Eagle), with the Beaver sitting at the bottom, on which a long round pole rose, supporting the Eagle at the top; (c) the pole of Kyaihluk (Gispewudwade), a long plain pole standing on top of the Grizzly Bear, the whole pole representing the Fireweed (hast).

4. The Ginarhangyeek tribe. Its poles were: (a) the pole of Halaidemkan (Wolf), a long round shaft with the Wolf at the top; (b) the pole of Liplitsius (Gispewudwade).

5. The Ginaihdoiks tribe. Its poles were: (a) the square foundation pole of Neeswarhs (Gispewudwade); (b) the Prince-Grizzly (hlkuwelksegem-medeeek), and the Starfish (kamats); the Grizzly with a copper shield in his mouth—Tsyaibesa's crest, the house of Neeswarhs being an offshoot of it; (c) a long rounded pole with the Liguidihl, a revolving figure (myth recorded); a man is shown carrying the coppers.

6. The Gitwilgyawts tribe. Its pole was the Kansuh of Sarhsarht (Wolf), with the large Prince-of-Grizzlies (hlkuwelksegem-medeeek); on this pole the Bear was supposed to play, and the pole would shake to and fro (Shaking-pole). Carved by John Tait, whose name was Neesmotk (Eagle, of the Gispwarlawts tribe).

7. The Gillodzar tribe near the Gitsalas canyon. The house of its head-chief was called the House-of-copper-shields (hayatskem-walp). On its front were painted copper shields. It had a special entrance for festivals—a raised platform with a round hole in the centre of the front, and with shaking steps, the aim of which was to make the guests trip.

8. The Gispwarlawts tribe. The house of its chief, Legyarh, was called "The Nest-of-the-Eagle" (nluehlkehl-rskyak). On the front was painted the Eagle with outspread wings. The ceremonial entrance was at the base of the painting, on an elevated platform.

This record may not be quite complete.
KILLER-WHALE PHRATRY

The Pole of Neeswairhs, the chief of a Gispewudwade sea-coast clan of the Ginarhangyeek tribe, at Port Simpson. This clan was related to that of Tsyebees, head-chief of the Gitrhahla tribe on Porcher Island. It stood on the island between the Mirage and the Grizzly-Bear poles. It is shown in an old photograph here reproduced.

Description. It consisted of a single carved figure, human-like, at the top of a long plain pole. The Liguidihl was of an exceptional nature, having been at first a “spirit” (narhnok) connected with warfare. Its head kept turning from side to side, like that of a jack-in-the-box. When, in former times, a raiding party in a war canoe went to the attack of the enemy, a warrior held up the Liguidihl in the centre of the canoe and made it move just as if it had been a real head-chief, so as to draw the arrows of the defenders, while the others kept their heads down. It was also used as a “spirit” (narhnok) in the feasts (yaaawk); as a crest, it belonged first to Shaiks of the Ginarhangyeek; then it was handed down to his kinsman, Tsyaibes, of the Gitrhahla tribe on Porcher Island; Neeswairhs belonged to the same group as Tsyaibes.

Function, carver, age. It stood in memory of a former Neeswairhs. It was carved by Neeslut or a Gispewudawade clan in the Gnahdoiks tribe, about sixty years ago, when the informant, Herbert Wallace, was a grown-up man. In 1926 it had fallen but had not yet been cut up.

(Interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

The Liguidihl, crest of Weesaaiks and Tsyaibes among the Coast Tsimsyans, according to Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees tribe; William Beynon acting as interpreter, 1915.

The Liguidihl was chiefly a narhnok or a device displayed in spirit performances. It consisted of a Person (gyet) carved out of wood, whose
movable limbs were controlled by strings, like a puppet, and looked more or less like the white man's jack-in-the-box. It was more generally used when a canoe-load of warriors prepared to land and attack a village. While the armed men crouched within the canoe, they raised the Liguidihl above their heads, as if it were a leader, and moved it, to draw the arrows from the shore upon itself.

Weesaiks, head of the Ginarhangeek tribe, first used it as a crest. When he died, it passed to his relative Tsyaibesa? of Gitrhahla.

At Port Simpson the Liguidihl not so long ago stood on top of a totem pole on the island.

The Pole called Mirage (hlek'an) of 'Weenaes, chief of a Gispeuwudwade clan in the Ginhaikoiks tribe, at Port Simpson. It stood on the western side of the island.

*Description.* Three human heads, separated by sections of the plain log with one such section at the top, represented the Mirage, one of the crests of this household. Below these heads stood the Grizzly Bear (medeek) holding the Killer-Whale, head down, the tail of the whale in its teeth, its perforated fin jutting forward. (An old photograph, here reproduced, shows this pole, as well as the two next poles to the south.)

*Carver, age.* It was carved by a former Neeswairhs of Port Simpson, about sixty years ago. In 1916 it had already fallen down and was lying along the path.

(Informant, Herbert Wallace; William Beynon, interpreter, 1926.)

The Mirage Hlaekan, Pole of Weelarhæ (Gitsees tribe, Gispeuwudwade phratry) among the Tsimsyans of Port Simpson, according to Herbert Wallace; interpreter, William Beynon, 1915.

This crest was used in two ways by the Weelarhæ household: first, painted in black and red in a grade (da'arh) of the house and realistically representing human beings in various positions; second, carved on house poles inside the house of Weenaes (Ginhaikoiks tribe, Gispeuwudwade phratry). This pole, of which there is an old photograph, was lying along the path on the island in 1915.

The Sun as a House-Front painting of Neeyuks and Neeshaiwaerhs of the Gitlæn tribe of the Tsimsyans on Skeena River. Informant, James Lewis; recorded by William Beynon, 1948. Lewis, aged about 65, received his information from several sources, in particular two old men of the same family. The following is an extract from a long narrative:

These people traced back their origin to Temlaham, the Good-Land-of-yore. Their crests, as explained in their myth of origin, were the Sun, the Stars, and the Rainbow. Their house was named Sun-House (gyarlæm-wælp). When the house was built and painted, the guests came in for the feast of its recognition. The owner, Neeshaiwærhs, pretended to speak in a foreign language to his guests, which his sister interpreted. As the name of Tæni and an experience of visiting heaven were part of the supernatural experience recounted, it may be presumed that this happened under the influence of the Bini new religion, established about 1820 among the neighbouring Carrier Indians. The sign of the cross was also for the first time introduced there by the Wolf chief who, being of the paternal family, signed himself and, while touching his forehead, said: "I will see with my eyes the powers above. . . " Therefore this Sun-House of the Tsimsyans
came into existence a little over a hundred years ago.

The Pole of Neesloot and Weenas, members of a Blackfish (Killer-Whale)-clan of the Gahdoiks tribe of the Tsimsyans, according to Mrs. Viola E. Garfield (50: 211).

One of the last fine-carved totem poles, which is now lying by the path in front of his former home, was raised about 1890–95 by Weenas, a Blackfish of the Gahdoiks tribe. The unusual part of this occurrence was that Weenas raised the pole, not in the name of himself and his ancestors, but in the name of his successor. He announced that he was giving his special crests, privileges, and property to his nephew, his name to be transferred at his death. Weenas held the potlatch, fearing lest his successor depart from the old customs. His fears were justified, as the nephew later moved to Old Metlakatla and gave up the name and all lineage privileges to a younger relative who was more conservative than himself.

While the pole was being lifted into place, a son of Weenas brought out a Chilcat blanket, which he had recently bought. He stopped the proceedings, ran to the top of the slanting pole, and nailed the blanket to it. This he did in honour of his father and his father's lineage, and the blanket became their property. Since he was under no obligation to make such a gift, his act was generously applauded.


This information is embodied in a long text entitled “Myth of Nugwen'aks, also the myth of the Gispewudwade who came from Gidestsu (China Hat).”

The Watkunahrhs is a fish which, though resembling the porpoise, has a large mouth and sharp teeth. It was the exclusive crest of the household of Damks and was engraved on his totem pole; it was reproduced on the robe worn at the ceremony of taking the chief's name. It was also used as a head-dress carved out of wood and painted black and red, with a fin on each side of the body, about the middle part, and the tail.

Gamayæm's Flagpole, belonging to the chief of that name in the Git'andaw tribe; it belonged to a Gispewudwade clan.

Description. The name of Gamayæm was engraved on it, as if to take the place of a totem.

Function. It was erected in a feast, in the same manner as a totem pole, to commemorate a former Gamayæm.

(Informant, Herbert Wallace; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

The Fireweed Pole (hæst) of Suhallait, chief of a Gispewudwade clan of the Gisparhlawts tribe at Port Simpson, stood on the mainland near the bridge to the island. The identity of a human figure at the base — the only carving — is now unknown. It was erected about sixty years ago.

(Informant, Herbert Wallace; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

The Pole of Suhallait, a Blackfish (Killer-Whale) clansman of the Gisparhlawts tribe of the Tsimsyans Proper, according to Mrs. Viola E. Garfield (50: 210, 211).

One pole with a single figure carved near the base serves as an electric light pole. This one belonged to Suhallait, a Blackfish clansman of the Gisparhlawts tribe. The figure represents a Being that his ancestors saw rise out of a lake, one of the experiences they encountered in their migrations from the mythical Prairie Town (Temlarh'am) to the coast. The plain section above the figure represents the fireweed, which also occurs in their myths. Since it is leaning badly, some of Suhallait's relatives wish to remove the pole, but those who have sufficient money to finance the necessary potlatch say that they will let it fall. If anyone is hurt when it falls, they will take care of that situation when it arises.
RAVEN PHRATRY

The Mortuary Pole of Dakawmilsk, a Raven of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson, according to Mrs. Viola E. Garfield.

A mortuary pole with the figure of a sea-lion atop a machine-dressed shaft was erected about 1880 by the nephews of Dakawmilsk, a Raven of the Gitsees tribe. Before his death he had called his relatives together and requested that they put up this pole in his memory, on the site of the old plank dwelling belonging to his lineage. A gun was originally placed in the mouth of the sea-lion, but it has long since fallen, and the top and tail of the animal have rotted away. When a comment was made to the clan grandniece of Dakawmilsk that it was sadly in need of repair, she replied, "Let it fall down, it has cost my relatives too much anyway!"

Totem Poles of the Sea-Lion, called Kanem-teebeen (pole of T'eeben, the Sea-Lion; or Halide-T'eeben, Where-Sits-the-Sea-Lion) belonging exclusively to Takawmilsk, member of a Kanhae clan in the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimshians Proper; also the totem pole of the Raven, which follows.

Description. This pole once was a long plain log standing with the carving of the Sea-Lion at the top. It now stands about 15 feet high. It was still there in 1947, at the end of the bridge on the island at Port Simpson. At one time, the Sea-Lion doubled (i.e., spread out and doubled) was painted on the house front of the owner; also at the inner end. The same owner also used the Supernatural-Starfish (narhnarem-kameats) with numerous tentacles carved on his pole and painted on his house front.

The Pole of the Raven (ptsæm qæq). The Raven was
carved and represented sitting on this pole; it had a long bill. The pole (no longer in existence) stood in front of the owner's house. The Starfish, with an entrance hole through it, was represented on the base front of the pole. On each side the Sea-Lion was painted, spread out.

*Function, carver, age.* It was put up by a follower in memory of Takawmilsk. The carver, about sixty years ago (at the time when they built the school), was Kalksek of the household of Neesyaranæt, a Kanhade head-chief of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson.

(Informant, Herbert Wallace; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

**The Klameen pole of Neeshawt** (the Raven head-chief) of the Gitzarhlæhl, at Port Simpson; William Beynon, interpreter, 1915.

At the base of this pole was represented the Woman. Above her rose a long round pole, at the top of which the Raven was perched; the pole was unpainted, but the bird was painted black. A very finely shaved pole rose far above. The Woman was black all over except for red around her white eyes. It was almost similar to that of Neesyaranæt, Raven head-chief of the Gitsees tribe; on this last the Raven seemed to sit on a nest to hatch young birds. The pole for this reason was called "Where-the-Raven-nests."


On the very low and long house of Chief Neeshawt at Kadow (near the present Metlakatla) was painted the Chief-Raven, black and red. The ceremonial door was in the centre of the painting. A back door was also used in this house, and a partition inside at the back was intended to keep secret the supernatural devices of the chiefs.

**The Raven and Salmon-River crests** (*rhlaw*) painted on the house front of Chief Neeshawt's (Raven) at Kadow (near the present Metlakatla). According to Albert Nelson (Neeshawt); interpreter, William Beynon, 1915.

The Raven, carved out of wood with the body painted black, and eyes and face red, and with a long beak, decorated the house front. The painting showed the liver of the salmon represented here as white weasels. The Raven was eating weasels. The informant saw this painting at Metlakatla, in its Kadow section.

**The Pole of the Dog** (*hæs*) in commemoration of Narærht of Port Simpson, standing on the mainland near the head of the bridge to the island. Narærht belonged to a Kanhade clan of the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimsyan Proper.

*Description.* From the top down, the figures were: (1) Dog (*hæs*), in a running position, from back to front. In 1915 it no longer rested there but had been taken into the house of Neeakawan. It was considered a good carving. (2) Supernatural-Starfish (*narharem-kamæts*), engraved with a human face in the centre and one on each of the four limbs, on a broad plank fixed crosswise on the post; the outline of the faces was painted black; the limbs of the starfish were red; the central face was green. (3)
Supernatural Raven (*narhnarem-qæq*). At one time the Raven had wings and the pole was much taller, but it was reduced to about 12 feet in length (1915). (4) Frog (*kanaao*) was engraved on the pole and painted on the house front.

*Function, carvers, age.* It was erected in memory of Narærht, member of a Raven clan of the Gitsees tribe. The carving of the pole taken as a whole was by a former Qawm of the Gitsalas tribe at the canyon of the Skeena; the Dog was the work of Kaltk (of a Wolf clan in the Gitsees tribe), who was considered a good carver and was the assistant of Qawm; the Starfish was made and put on many years later by Larh’ayæorh (of an Eagle clan of the Gitka’ata tribe).

It was erected when informant Herbert Wallace had reached the age to be married. He was 72 in 1926, when these dates were recorded with him; William Beynon acting as interpreter.

The destruction of this pole took place in 1921; it was accompanied by a ceremony during which speeches were made. These were partly recorded by William Beynon.

(Informant, Herbert Wallace; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

**The Dog on Totem Poles** among the Tsimsyans, according to Herbert Wallace, Kanhade chief of the Gitsees tribe; J. Ryan acting as interpreter, 1915.

The (Indian) Dog was used as a head-dress and also was placed horizontally on top of the totem poles of two chiefs at Port Simpson: (1) Gæni; (2) Narærht; both Kanhade of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson.

**The Bullhead Poles of Nteetshleelks,** of the Kanhade phratry in Port Simpson, and of another Kanhade family in the Gitandaw tribe of the Tsimsyans at Port Simpson, according to Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees; J. Ryan acting as interpreter, in 1915.

The Finned-Bullhead (*haliopes-kayait*) raised the spikes on its back and looked like an owl. The Bullhead, its head down, occupied the whole totem pole from top to base. It was the property of all Kanhades among the Coast Tsimsyans, but it was actually shown as a crest, its body decorated all over with abalone pearls, only by the Kanhade chief, Nteetshleeks of the Gitla’en tribe.

The Gitandaw Kanhades used the Bullhead in the same way, but without pearls. It was also used on at least one totem pole among the Gitrhahlas.

**WOLF PHRATRY**

**The Pole of Halaidem-kan,** a chief of a Wolf clan of the Ginarhangyeek tribe at Fort Simpson.

*Function, age.* It stood in memory of a chief of the same name, also of another of the same household named Swandesk.

No description could be obtained of this pole, which no longer existed in 1915 and was still new as far back as the informant, Herbert Wallace, could remember, in 1926. (He was then 72 years old.)

(Interpreter, William Beynon.)

One of the finest carved figures still standing in Port Simpson is the pole of Halaidem-kan (halait, 'dancer'; kan, 'wood'). It is a commemorative pole erected about 1880 by the man who held the name Dancer-of-Wood (Halaidem-kan). He belonged to the Wolf clan in the Ginarhangik tribe. The figure represents an ancestor of the same name, who was a famed shaman and sorcerer, but not of the rank of chief. The house to which the name belongs is now extinct.

EAGLE PHRATRY

The Dogfish-Fin of Legyarh. (nekemqæt), a crest on the pole of Legyarh, Eagle head-chief of the Tsimsyans at Port Simpson, according to Herbert Wallace, Kanhade head-chief of the Gitsees. Interpreter, J. Ryan, 1915.

As a crest, the Dogfish-Fin was used by Legyarh on his long totem pole then (1915) lying on the beach at Port Simpson. Other chiefs of the same high Eagle clan had also a right to use it, but they usually displayed it only on head-dresses and garments.

The Pole of Lukawl, chief of the Gitwilgyawts tribe; it stood at the south end on the mainland of Port Simpson.

It was one of the oldest poles, and Herbert Wallace, our informant, saw only the lower part of it after it had fallen. He could not furnish more information about it. Interpreter William Beynon stated that he had a reproduction in miniature of it, carved in Alaska.

MIXED


The figures represent, counting upward, as follows: first, the Raven; second, Dogfish; third, Man; fourth, Wolf; fifth, the Killer-Whale; and sixth, Eagle. On the above-mentioned column, reading from below, the first is the carving of an Indian with his head encircled by feathers. This represents the party who owned the house in front of which this column stood. The second figure is the Raven, called by these people Cauch (qag). This, the Raven, is the phratry or principal crest, along with the Eagle phratry of all these people. The next is the Dogfish, which along with the Raven phratry, was the crest of the man who had this house built for himself. The third figure is a Man, perhaps designed to represent the one whose portrait this was and to show that he belonged to the tribe amongst whom the house was built. By saying this, I take a Haida standpoint; with the Simshians it may be different, although I hardly think so. The next or fourth figure above is a Wolf. This is the crest of the Wolf gens. How it came to be placed there I can hardly say. This much I know: it showed a connection with that crest or, in other words, a connection between the party who built this house and the clan bearing the Wolf crest. The fifth figure is a Woman with head-dress and is evidently a figure of the housewife. Above her is the figure of a Killer or Fin-back Whale, with two young ones, one on each side of its mouth. The sixth figure is the crest of the Wife. The young one shows her to have had a family, which, like herself, would have the Whale crest. The next or seventh figure is that of a woman, showing that the wife was connected by birth with the tribe in which she lived. The upper or last figure is the Eagle and designates the phratry to which she belonged. This column was part of a house that stood in an Indian town on the Naas River, British Columbia. It was sent by a Mrs. Morrison, an exceedingly intelligent half caste, her mother being a native Simshian.

Comment. The assortment of crests of all four phratries of the Tsimsyans on the pole shows that it was not genuine. This could not happen in actual
life. Obviously Mrs. Morrison had a carver (presumably at Port Simpson or at Metlakatla) carve a pole for the World’s Fair at Chicago.

**Totem Pole of Skeena River** (Harriman), at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; seen there in 1915. Collected by O. Morrison, No. 18144.

From the date furnished and its contents, it seems to have been carved for outsiders and not actually for any given commemoration. Its museum label read as follows:

“This pole represents crests of the four great clans into which the TsimSYANS are divided. At the top is the eagle, the principal crest of the Eagle clan [phratry]. The second is a grampus or killer-whale, the principal crest of the Bear clan [incorrect — the Killer-Whale forms a distinct phratry under its own name]. The third is the wolf, the principal crest of the Wolf clan [phratry]. And the fourth represents a man. The fifth is a sculpin, a minor crest of the Raven clan, of which the sixth, the Raven, is the principal one.

“These posts are erected with much ceremony, feasting and distribution of property in front of the dwellings. They indicate the clan to which the owner belongs through his mother and may also show the crest of his wife, if she had aided with property. Rarely the crest of the owner’s father is also shown.”

(Cf. E. H. Harriman Expedition to Alaska: pole No. 19341.)

**TSIMSYANS PROPER**

*(Canyon of the Skeena)*

**Robin-Woman and Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman** (myth of origin). (Recorded by William Beynon in 1947 from Mrs. Bradley, aged 70, of Port Simpson.)

While the TsimSYANS tribes were living on both sides of the Metlakatla Passage, the shores of the Krhain were the home of the Gitwilgyawts people. Their chief at that time was Neeslaws, member of an Eagle clan. It was before the coming of this tribe of the Gispewudwade group of Sarhsarht. A great scarcity of food prevailed among all the coast people, and many died of starvation. Chief Neeslaws’ two wives were Robin-Woman (*ksemgilarkiyaw*) and Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman (*ksem'agyiik*). Both of these women were supernatural beings, and they used to vie with each other for the favour of Neeslaws, their husband. During the winter, when food was hard to get, the chief woman, Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman, would bring in all the different sea and shell foods. She would take her slave women in her own canoe and bring in great quantities of halibut and seals. There was always a plentiful supply of food, and she taunted the chief’s other wife, Robin-Woman, with her failure to provide it. Day after day she led the people of her husband’s tribe to the place where seals, sea-lions, and whales were most plentiful, and the houses of all the Gitwilgyawts people were full of food. And thus it was all winter long, and her husband gave many feasts at a time when there was a scarcity of food.

Now came the moon of the spring salmon. The other wife of the chief, Robin-Woman, brought the young men of her husband’s tribe together and said, “To-morrow we shall go away. Get your canoes ready and we will go
At the canyon of Gitsalas on Skeena River up the Skeena." Ice still covered the Skeena, but she went ahead of the canoes, beating a channel through the ice so that the canoes could follow. This was done until they came to the mouth of Kitsemkælem River. There they saw the stomachs (bladders) of salmon floating down, and they were happy. They kept on travelling up this stream until they came to the beautiful village of Kitsemkælem (often referred to as Gilarkiyaw: village of the Robin-People).

Posts after they were restored, at the Gitsalas canyon
Then the chief woman, Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman, using her own tongue, said, "Let us land here at my uncle's house!" They all went into the house of the chief. They feasted on fresh salmon, a treat they had never before enjoyed at this season. After a rest, Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman took her husband's tribesmen, together with her own relatives, and caught a great quantity of salmon. They dried them and had many bundles of li'uks. Her uncle, the chief, brought down many mountain goats. These also were dried by smoking (dwa'emti), similarly with high-bush cranberries and wild crab-apples. When all was gathered, they started to pack it into their canoes, and when the canoes proved too small for the huge quantity, Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman used her supernatural powers, reducing the bulk of the food so that it could all be packed away. They then set out to return to the village of Neeslaws, at Khrain.

It was now early spring, and as food could only be gathered in the summer and early autumn by the other people of Khrain, there was a scarcity of provisions. When Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman landed there, she called upon all her husband’s people to unload the canoes and used her supernatural powers to increase the quantity of the few canoes' contents. Soon a huge pile stood in the chief's house, and all the houses of her companions were also filled. Food was now abundant, so Neeslaws invited all his tribesmen to a great feast at which he gave away quantities of food. Then, at a time when food was scarce, he invited all of the Tsimsyan tribes and treated them in the same way. Thus he became great among the Tsimsyans.

Neeslaws' other wife, Robin-Woman, was also busy gathering sea foods, and there was great rivalry between the two women. Robin-Woman claimed she was the more industrious, just as did Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman. A quarrel arose between them, and they vied with each other more than ever for the favour of the chief.

Neeslaws, aware of this rivalry between his wives, was at a loss to know what to do. First he would favour one, then the other, but never letting the disregarded one know. When both were in the house he treated them alike, and when one went out and brought back food to earn his favours, the other would be forced to do the same. One day Robin-Woman came in when Neeslaws was favouring the other wife. Jealous and angry, she cried out, "I will return to my own people." At once she turned into a robin and flew out of the house through the smoke-hole. Neeslaws became angry with Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman because of the loss of his wife who had brought him so much food. Greatly embarrassed at the rebuke before her husband's people, she stepped out of the house to the water's edge and, turning into the blue-bill duck, swam away. The Robin-Woman returned to her own people at Kitsemkselem, and the Blue-Bill-Duck-Woman went to the sea. Neeslaws, because of his anger, had lost both his wives.

**Totem Poles at the Kitselas Canyon** of Skeena River, in 1910, according to Lieut. G. T. Emmons (42: 467–471).
There remained standing (P. 470, Plate XXXIII) in 1910, three old, slender totem poles, or heraldic columns, which were rounded from base to summit and showed no evidence from chambers in the back that they were used as mortuary columns for the reception of the ashes of the cremated dead. These carvings are crude in comparison with either those of the coast or of the upper river, and would indicate either the poverty or the want of artistic sense of this people.

In the accompanying Plate XXXIII, the totem pole shown in (a) is carved to represent a beaver sitting up at the base, above which the rounded pole is ornamented in encircling series of parallel grooves indicating the marks of the beaver’s incisors.¹

The pole in (b) is more elaborate; it shows at the base a frog, and above a mythical four-fin killer-whale [M.B., the salmon qanis], the tail carved to represent a human figure. Adjoining are the remains of the old communal house, with ridge-pole carved in the form of a salmon.

Figure (c) of the plate is a plain, rounded column surmounted by a wolf figure [M.B., the Grizzly Bear].

Only the base of the pole shown in (d) now remains; it is a human figure seated and enclosing a smaller figure.

The decayed remains of other carvings and house-timbers, half buried in the moss and overgrown with brush, confirm the statement of the natives that this was the largest and most important of the villages in the vicinity.

**FIREWEED AND KILLER-WHALE PHRATRY**

**The Fireweed Pole of Neeshaiwaerhs,** on the Fortress (la’awdzep) of the Gitsalas canyon of the mid-Skeena River. Restored in 1928; it had been leaning at a precarious angle.

*Description.* This long plain pole, without any carving except, possibly, the rods surmounted with representations of fireweed blossoms near the top, represented the Fireweed crest of the owner.

*Function, age.* It was erected by Kastu’ini, a chief of an Eagle clan of the Gitsemkaelam tribe of the Tsimsvans Proper, in memory of a former Neeshaiwaerhs, about sixty years ago or more.

(Informants, S. W. Qawm, chief of a Raven clan of the same place and Rosa Herring of Port Essington, belonging to the same family; William Beynon, acting as interpreter, 1926.)

¹ The small projecting shelf above the figure contains a trespass notice requesting that the post be not disturbed, as it is private property.
At the Gitsalas canyon

The Fireweed Poles of Neesnawæ of the Gillodzar tribe, of Sarhsarh of the Gitwilgyawts tribe, and of the Gispewudwade clans from Temlarham at the Gitsalas canyon of Skeena River.

Myth of Origin. Many years after the people had moved away from Temlarham down the river following the deluge of snow, a nephew of Neeshaiwærhhs fasted and prepared himself for a long hunting trip at the headwaters of Gitseguyukla River. When he was hunting during the winter, much snow covered the ground. One morning, as he awakened on his
Decayed totems at the Gitsalas canyon

trap-line, he had a vision. A huge fireweed grew out of the snow and reached up, very bright, into the sky. After he had observed it, he started for his camp and on his way turned back to see the Fireweed. It had disappeared.

When he got home to Temlarham, he told his uncles about this vision. They decided to make the Single-Fireweed their clan crest, under the name of Gilhaes or Single-Fireweed. The descendants within the clan, wherever they went, have ever since used this Single-Fireweed as their own.

**Four Welmis House Posts of Læns.** The Welmis (Spawning-river-of-many) house posts of Læns, Gispewudwade of the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimsyans.
Decayed Eagle and Beaver poles at Gitsalas
Totem at the Gitsalas canyon

Welmis was represented as a crest in the form of small human beings with fins on the back, on the four house posts of this family. This crest was derived from a myth belonging to the owner, who had no connection, as might have been expected, with the Gitnagunaks group from the south.

(Informant, Arthur Wellington Klah, Wolf, Port Simpson; William Beynon, interpreter, 1915.)

RAVEN PHRATRY

Grandfather-of-Red-Hair (neesmaskaus) pole, of a Raven household at the former Gisparhlawts village of the Tsimsyans Proper on lower Skeena River, a mile below the present Shames. Still standing there in 1926, according to the informant, but not seen by the author or photographed.

*Description.* This pole was round, rather short, standing with the Raven (qaq) on top, the only carving. There used to be one exactly like it at Port Simpson in the section of the Gisparhlawts tribe; it was cut down at the same time as most of the other poles. It was put up “long ago.”

(Informant, Herbert Wallace, Raven chief of the Gitsees tribe, at Port Simpson; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.)

Poles of Larahnitsk, a chief of the Fortress tribe (ta'awdsept) in the canyon of the mid-Skeena. These were re-erected and restored in 1928 under the auspices of the Dominion Government and the Canadian National Railways.

*Description.* There were several poles in this group: four carved house posts on the outside, called gausemdale (meaning ?); four inside corner posts representing the Bullhead fish (gayet), head downwards and tail on the top ridge. The name of the totem pole outside was Small-Hat (kwawrait), a hat with disks. For whom the house was erected and at what time were unknown to the informant.

(Informant, Rosa Herring, Port Essington, a member of Qawm's household, 1926.)

The Pole of Thunder. The totem pole at the house of Trharhaleplip (Thunder), at the canyon of the mid-Skeena.

(Informant, Rosa Herring, Port Essington, a member of Qawm's household, 1926.)
Citrhahla (Tsimsyan) on Porcher Island in 1870

ISLAND (GITRHAHLA) TSIMSYANS

GISPEWUDWADE PHRATRY

Carved Crests of Hale, a Gispewudwade chief of the Gitrhahla tribe of the Coast Tsimsyans on Porcher Island.

1. The Grizzly-Bear crest was shown as the Standing-Bear (haitrhem-medeek), a large carved grizzly standing on the roof of the house and looking inside through the smoke-hole. The name of the house was Standing-House (haitrhem-wælb). The name of the carver is forgotten.

2. The Hanging-Grizzly (ya’kaisem-medeek) was the name of the carved figures of the Grizzly-Bear in a reclining position on the four interior house posts.

3. The Killer-Whale or Blackfish (naehrhl), also carved on house posts.

4. The Braided-Intestines crest (rhawndekrhaet), carved to represent braided intestines on the house beams. They were the work, long ago, of Wuteenaerhs of the same tribe.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)
**Totem of Light** (Hale) (*larh’awm*) of Hale, a Gispewudwade chief of Gitrhahla, a tribe of the Coast Tsimsyans of Porcher Island. It was cut down at the time when the school was built. The name of Light for this pole was that of the house in front of which it stood.

*Description.* The figures, from the top down, were: (1) Liguidihl, a mythical person whose origin went back to the Tlingits (called Gidaranits) to the north; this human-like being, a crest of Hale, held a copper shield in its arms; (2) Killer-Whale (*'nærhl*), which formed the shaft of the pole, head down; (3) Grizzly Bear, at the base.

This tall pole, the largest in the village, stood 60 or 65 feet high in front of the door entrance, away from the house. Its carving was said by the informant to have been very good and life-like.

*Carvers, age.* It was carved by Pæsem-kanao of the Kanhade phratry in the same tribe, assisted by Gyælemksegwen, when the informant was still young. The informant added that other poles had been carved and erected previously, this particular one replacing another one fallen.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

**Pole of Kiyout,** a Gispewudwade chief at Gitrhahla, a coast tribe of the Tsimsyans. Kiyoot was related to Wawsieberh of the Ginarhangreek tribe of the Tsimsyans; also to Ntawiwælp of Kitkata.

*Description, age.* The crests figuring on this pole were the Killer-Whale or Blackfish (*'nærhl*) and the Grizzly Bear (*medeek*). The pole disappeared before being seen by the informant; it never was replaced.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

**Whole-Killer-Whale of Tsakawle** (*pte’nærhl*) of the Gispewudwade, at Gitrhahla, a Coast Tsimsyan tribe. Tsakawle was of the same stock as Nees’ois of the Kitkata tribe, being of southern Tsimsyan origin.
Description. (1) Whole-Blackfish (pte’ncerhl) occupying nearly the entire length of the pole; (2) Offspring-of-Grizzly (neghlkenedeek), two cubs on the top of the pole.

Career, age. It was carved about 1880 and stood for about twenty-five years. When it became rotten at the base, it was cut down. Its carver, Wudinærhs, was a Kanhađde of the same tribe; he belonged to the paternal side of the owner.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of the Gitrhahlas; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

Garment-of-Blackfish or Killer-Whale (kwurk’ñærhl), belonging to Qawai, a Gispewudwade of of Gitrhahla, a member of the Kayemtkkwaw group of southern Tsimshyan origin, whose close relatives live at Kitkata on the main coast.

Description. This pole, a short one, contained two crests: (1) Garment-of-Killer-Whale (kwurk’ñærhl); (2) Grizzly (medeek).

Age. It was cut down when the informant was a small child.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

RAVEN PHRATRY

Ten-faces-across-the-top. The totem pole called the sea-monster Parhlekpeel or Ten-faces-across-the-top of Hlkuse’men, a Kanhađde chief of Gitrhahla. It still stands, about thirty feet high, according to the informant, but was not seen by the author. This family claimed the same Tlingit or northern origin as chief Neeshawt of the Gitzarhlaehl tribe of the Coast Tsimshyans.
Description. The figures from the top down are: (1) Raven; (2) three small figures representing the beings emerging from the sea; (3) sea-monster Parhlekeel with ten figures carved on it; (4) Person holding the bow (gyet) and the Pearl-Bow (pałhemhakulak).

Origin. Arhyasranks, of this group, is said to have been a great sea-otter fisherman who knew how to reach his catch by stealth. When he was hunting out at sea one day, a sea-monster like a huge person emerged close to him. Its body was covered with ten human faces. Upon his return home, he immediately assumed this as his own original crest—Ten-faces-across-the-top.

Carver, age. Carved by Witrhwaw, a skilful craftsman of a Wolf clan, the paternal grandfather of the owner, about 1870.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old Grithhahla chief; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

Poles of Wakhaes, a Kanhade chief of Grithhahla, a coast Tsimsyan tribe. Wakhaes was of Wudstaw or Gidestsu ancestry, that is, of northern Kwakiutl origin. This pole has disappeared long ago, and the informant could not describe it.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Grithhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

Wolf Phratry

The White-Owl (marhs-kutkuniyuks) of Pæenemwałith, a Wolf chief at Grithhahla, or coast tribe of the Tsimsyans, originally from the Kitkata tribe of the southern Tsimsyans, of the same stock as Neeskahlhowt.

Description. Figures from the top down: (1) White-Owl (marhskutkuniyuks); (2) Split-Person (q’oaderhgyet), with head down — the body was split open showing the pole coming out of it (q’ao means V-shaped crutch).

It is said that this house also owned a house-front painting.

Carver, age. Carved by Hagwellorom-larhae, a Kanhade of paternal origin, it stood for twenty years and then was cut down when about fifty years old.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Grithhahla; William Beynon, 1939.)
Neelalaranos Poles in the Chapel, according to the Rev. Mr. Collison, Indian agent, Prince Rupert, in 1939.

Neelalaranos [Wolf chief of the Gitlaen tribe] was a fine carver. In fact, all the Gitlams were fine carvers. Neelalaranos, in Rev. Mr. Duncan's time [i.e. before 1886], made four beautiful totems for the chapel of Old Metlakatla. They represented the four different crests of the phratries, about four figures on each pole. They were destroyed by the fire.

SOUTHERN TSIMSYANS

(Gitamat, Kitlawp)


A ladder made of revolving slabs, carved out of logs, rested with crossbars on two poles, intended for walking from one pole to the other. It was an exclusive crest of Tseebase, invented out of a spirit of showmanship. It was meant as a trick to fool the Eagles of the Gisparhlawts and Gitandaw tribes. The guests were invited to enter the feast house via this ladder through a special door over the ordinary doorway. Another ladder inside joined this front door ladder. This device (without a story to explain its significance) was used only once, at a great celebration given by the head-chief of the Gitlahla to all the Tsimsyan leaders. Most of the guests tumbled down but did their best to overcome the difficulty. After the feast, the steps were fixed to no longer revolve. They were actually used only on the one occasion and became known as the Trick-Ladder of Tseebase.

Where-the-Blackfish-collide, house-front painting used by the (negukoot'nerhl) Tsimsyans of the Killer-Whale clans of the sea-coast, according to Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson, in 1915; William Beynon, interpreter.

Two Blackfish or Killer-Whales were represented in black and white paint as heading towards each other for a collision. (The white paint formerly was made of crushed clam shells baked into a white lime mixed with water and a mordant.) This crest, said to have originated at Gitlahla, later spread to the other Gispewudwades along the coast and inland. It was also used on ceremonial robes and on totem poles; the two Blackfish were carved one on top of the other on the same pole.

The Snag Crest used on totem poles of the Coast Tsimsyans and their neighbours, according to Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees tribe, in 1915; William Beynon, interpreter.

The name of this crest, Snag-of-Ktsem’aus (kanem ktesens’aus), is derived from a place close to the mouth of Skeena River, opposite Port Essington, formerly called Spukcu. At this spot used to dwell, according to the belief of the Coast Tsimsyans, a monster in the form of a fierce Grizzly Bear at the bottom of the sea, on whose back stood two tall and sharp snags emerging through the sandbars and the water of the ingoing and outgoing tides. The canoes that happened to hit the snags would at once be broken up.
Much dreaded by everyone, they became the general crest of the sea-coast (larhmanun) Gispewudwade clans, who have a myth to explain its origin. More particularly it is the emblem of Weesaiks (of the Ginarhangik tribe), of Neeslaws (Gitwilgyawts), whose high rank enabled them once to choose whatever emblem suited them. The Snag is represented as a tall mast usually bare of any carving.

The Pole at Gitamat, a frontier tribe between the Tsimsyans and the Kwakiutls, near the mouth of Kitimat River on Kitimat Arm, off Douglas Channel.

The following notes are from I. A. Lopatin’s MSS.: The Social Life and Religion of the Indians of Kitimat, B.C. (National Museum, Anthropological Division.)

Extracts from pp. 19-23, which contain only generalities:

Totem poles were erected in memory of deceased chiefs or noblemen, and sometimes by a man on his own behalf. The makers of these poles were professional craftsmen. A chief or nobleman ordered such a craftsman to carve a totem pole for him, at the same time telling him what figures must be wrought on it.

At the end of the feast (when the pole was erected), the host stood by the piles of different kinds of goods (to be distributed as gifts), and delivered an address to his numerous guests. He pointed out the causes which had induced him to erect the totem pole. Usually it was the desire to impress the memory of his deceased predecessor firmly in the minds of the neighbouring tribes. Having done with the speech, he ordered his servant (aloohk) to call out the names of the guests. The servant shouted these names in a loud, solemn voice, and, while handing the gifts to each individual, repeated all the compliments and remarks which had been made by the host. The celebration of the erection of the new totem pole usually lasted five or six days. During this period the guests were fed and entertained at the expense of the host. These totem poles have been real columns of glory of the Indian past. Some have already (in 1930) stood about sixty years.

Totem poles are no longer erected. In Kitimat, this custom was abandoned about fifty years ago. At present there is only one totem pole standing. It is on the beach, not far from Chief Morrison’s house, and was erected some 40 years ago. According to Mr. Christopher Walker, there were two others—one on the beach where the wharf now stands, the other on the beach near the site of the present church. Both fell down about forty years ago.

The Pole Commemorating Kapskoltsh (now at Stockholm, Sweden). Kapskoltsh was chief of the Kitlawp (People-of-Stone) tribe at the mouth of Kitlope River and Gardner Channel, at the frontier between the Tsimsyans and the Northern Kwakiutls. This memorial was acquired in 1929 by Mr. Olof Hanson, Swedish Consul at Prince Rupert, for the Ethnographical Museum at Stockholm, Sweden, and removed to its courtyard in 1930. (See “A Kwakiutl totem pole in Stockholm,” by Gerhard Lindblom: Ethnos, November 1936, pp. 137-141.)

Description. According to the interpretation given by Mr. Iver Fougner, then Indian Agent at Bella Coola, and obtained from Gwil-ga-lock, wife of the chief (in 1928) of the Kitlawp band, the figures on the pole, from the top down, represent: (1) The “spirit of Zoda, who always wears a tall hat which revolves on his head”; (2) “Asoalget, who is also a personified spirit”; (3) “A grizzly bear in the water.”

Tsaude and Halus are mythological beings in a myth bearing their name, published by Dr. Franz Boas in Tsimsyan Mythology (31st Ann. Rept. of the Bur. of American Ethnology, 1909–10, pp. 297–306), and recorded among the Tsimsyans by the author. A version of Tsaude (or
The pole of the Kitlawp tribe of the southern Tsimshians at the Ethnological Museum of Stockholm, Sweden
Dzawde) was collected from Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson, in connection with Asaralyzen, Wolf chief of the same tribe, in which the mythical adventures of Tsaude and his slave Halus are recounted. Tsaude is connected with native copper and considered the legendary coppersmith of old.

Asewælgyet (Asaolget, as above) is a different name and special form of the Thunderbird, well known among the Coast Tsimsyans. It is a crest of Hlerem's house (of a Raven clan) in the Gitsees tribe. There it is described, as follows:

Asewælgyet's body resembles that of the grizzly bear; its paws and head are the same, but he has large wings. Inside the wings small human beings are shown. When flying, this bird causes a great noise like thunder. Once, in the past, he was seen by an uncle of Hlerem when out hunting; this uncle's name was Larhtuyai'tk, who was the first to use it, several generations ago, on his house front as a painting and as a totem pole. (Informant, Herbert Wallace, chief of the Gitsees, Port Simpson; William Beynon, interpreter, 1915.)

At Port Simpson, it stood at the top of a round pole called Red-Garment, in commemoration of Hlerem, until about 1910.

In the myth of Asewælgyet (as related in 1915 by the same informant, Wallace) the following passage refers to this mythical bird:

"After the end of the oolaken (candle-fish) season in the spring, the people went out hunting for mountain goat to the very headwaters at the head of Warks Canal (galaq'uatun). Before hunting, they fasted and drank the juices of various roots, and for a length of time they bathed, so as to bring good luck upon themselves while in the mountains. A member of the house of Hlerem, after his fasting and bathing, proceeded to the headwaters of Large-River (weedzem-ha'dzarh), and camped with his family on the banks of a stream. One day, during the moon of larhdzaws (when the goats are fat), while they were standing close to their camp, they heard a clap of thunder coming from the river. Then they beheld a bird-like being flying, with large outspread wings and a body like a huge grizzly's. Hlerem took his bow and arrow and shot at the monster. Because of this, the bird flew down very close to them, and they saw human beings under its wings and on its breast. Hlerem looked at them carefully and said, 'We will use this as an emblem in our house.' For a period he kept on hunting the goat, drying the meat and gathering the fat, both of which were valuable foods. After the hunting was done, they went back home at the mouth of Warks Canal. From there they journeyed to their fishing stations near Skeena River. . . ."

At Gitlawp, situated as it is, close to the Tsimsyans of the mid-Skeena River to the north, the grizzly bears are more likely to have been spirit grizzlies of the mountains than grizzlies "in the water," for the Water-Grizzlies were a Haida heraldic fictional, rather than a Tsimsyan, feature, although some tribes of the lower Skeena actually claimed it as a crest.

Mythical origins. The narrative obtained by Mr. Fougner, as reproduced in Ethnos, runs as follows:

"Many long years ago Kapskoltsh, who was the chief of the Kitlope band of Indians, suffered the great misfortune to lose all his children
and every member of his band with the exception of his wife. This severe loss made him very unhappy and filled him with much sorrow. One day, while in a very fretful mood, he retired into the forest, where the spirit Zoda appeared before him, and inquired the reason for his grief. Upon being informed by Kapskoltsh, the spirit Zoda further inquired as to the cause of the death of his people and where he had placed their bodies. Kapskoltsh told Zoda that he had placed the bodies in boxes and put the boxes on branches up in trees.

"Zoda sympathized deeply with Kapskoltsh and gave him a transparent stone (crystal) and told him to go home and take a bite off the stone, and at the same time warned him that he must not stay with his wife. The chief then returned home and went to the place where he had put the bodies, and took a bite off the transparent stone. Then he called to his people up in the trees, and he saw that the spirit Zoda was among them, and his people came down alive from the trees. Kapskoltsh then realized that it was the good spirit Zoda that had restored his people to life again.

"After that day Chief Kapskoltsh became a great Medicine Man and cured many sick people; but before doing so he always took a bite out of the transparent stone which had been given to him by the spirit Zoda."

Function, carver, age. This pole, which was 9 metres long, was erected about 1872. According to the information quoted, "The foregoing Legend was related by Gwil-ga-lock, wife of the present (1928) Chief of the Kitlope band of Indians, and whose father about the year 1872 employed Humchit and Weikas, two Indians of the Raven Clan, to carve the Totem Pole, and when finished had it erected at Kitlope in order to perpetuate the memory of the ancient Chief Kapskoltsh and the good spirit Zoda."

It was "probably made from the trunk of a red cedar (Thuja gigantea), which has in parts begun to decay, and the wood shows a tendency to develop lengthwise splits. It has never been painted. From an artistic point of view it is fairly simple, but it is of very great interest on account of the preservation of the history, or legend of its origin. It is not a totem pole in the strict sense of the word, because so far as can be ascertained, it contains no totemistic representation. It belongs, it seems to me, to the group of 'totem poles' of the Northwest Coast that are known as 'memorial columns.' Such poles were also occasionally erected at some distance from the winter village, and constituted memorials designed to perpetuate the memory of some event, real or legendary, in the history of the tribe. . . ."

Interesting details, quite characteristic of the people and the circumstances in the purchase of totem poles, are quoted from a letter from Mr. Hanson, the donator of the pole to the museum at Stockholm:

"It has been my ambition during the last ten years to send a totem pole, and on several occasions I considered that I had all arrangements completed, and that in a few days' time a pole would be on the way to Sweden. Then, at the last moment, an old Indian woman or an old Indian man would appear, after many complications had already been successfully straightened out, and claim some equity in the pole. They would absolutely refuse to be reconciled in the matter, or consent to its removal, thereby cancelling all arrangements that had been previously made. However at last I was successful in securing a pole. . . ."
Totem carvings near Bella Bella. Raley's Collection at the museum of the University of British Columbia
HAIDAS

SKIDEGATE AND SOUTHERN TRIBES

Skidegate and Southern Villages as described by George M. Dawson, in 1878 (30: 165B, 166B).

Skil-ci-get, or Skidegate village as it is ordinarily called, situated in the inlet of the same name and extending along the shore of a wide bay with sandy beach, is still one of the most populous Haida villages and has always been a place of great importance. It has suffered more than most places, however, from the habit of its people in resorting to Victoria and other towns to the south. There are many unoccupied and ruined houses, and fully one-half of those who still claim it as their residence are generally absent. The true name of the town is, I believe, Hvoi-hai-ka, and Skii-ci-get is that of the hereditary chief. It is called Kil-hai-oo by the Tshimsians. There are now standing in this village about twenty-five houses, in some of which the beams only remain. Several are uninhabited. Of carved posts there are in all about fifty-three, making on an average two for each house, found to be about in the same proportion as in several other places. Nearly one-half of these are monumental posts or Rhat, it being rare to find more than a single door-post or Ke-rhen for each house. Mr. Work assigns forty-eight houses to this place, probably correct for the date to which he refers. There are signs that the village has formerly been much more extensive, and the Skidegate Haidas themselves never cease to dwell on the deplorable decrease of the population and ruin of the town.

On the west end of Maude Island, a few miles only from the Skidegate village, is now situated what may be called the New Gold Harbour village. This has been in existence a few years only, having been built by the Haidas formerly inhabiting Gold Harbour, or Port Kuper, on ground amicably purchased from the Skidegate Haidas for that purpose. The inlet generally known as Gold Harbour is situated on the west coast and can be reached from Skidegate by the narrow channel separating Graham from Moresby Island.

The population of the place is about equal to that of the Skidegate village, though in appearance it is much less imposing, as the houses which have been erected are comparatively few and of small size, and there are as yet few carved posts.

The village generally known as Cumshewa is situated in a small bay facing toward the open sea, but about two miles within the inlet to which the same name has been applied. The outer point of this bay is formed by a little rocky islet, which is connected with the main shore by a beach at low tide. The name Cumshewa or Kumshewa is that of the hereditary chief, the village being properly called Tkinool, or by Tshimsians Kii-ta-was. There are now standing here twelve or fourteen houses, several of them quite ruinous, with over twenty-five carved posts.

At the entrance to Cumshewa Inlet, on the opposite or south side, is the Skedans village, so called, as in former cases, from the chief, but of which I did not learn the proper name. This is a place of more importance than the Cumshewa village proper and appears always to have been so. Many of the houses are still inhabited, but most look old and moss-grown, and the carved posts have the same aspect. Of houses there are now about sixteen, or posts forty-four. At the time of our visit, an old woman was having a new post erected in memory of a daughter who had died some years before in Victoria.

Klue’s Village, properly called Taoo, or by the Tshimsians Larh-skik, is situated 14 miles southward from the last, on the outer side of the inner of two exposed islands.

There are about thirty carved posts here, of all heights and styles, with sixteen houses. The village, extending round a little rocky point, faces two ways and cannot easily be wholly seen from any one point of view. This causes it to look less important than the last, though really possessing a larger population than it and being in a more flourishing state than any elsewhere seen in the islands. There were a considerable number of strangers here at the time of our visit in July, 1878, engaged in the erection of a carved post and house for the chief. The night was given to dancing, while sleep and gambling divided those parts of the day which were not used for the business in hand. Cedar planks of great size, hewn out long ago in anticipation, had been towed to the spot, and were now being dragged up the beach by the united efforts of the throng, dressed for the most part in gaily colored blankets. They harnessed themselves in clusters to the ropes, as the Egyptians are represented to have done in their pictures, shouting and ye-hooing in strange tones to encourage themselves in the work.

The Kun-rhit village is the most southern in the Queen Charlotte Islands. It is generally known as Ninistance or Nin-stints, from the name of the chief, and is situated on the inner side of Anthony Island of the Admiralty sketch of Houston Stewart Channel.
The old village of Skidegate, Haida
Skidegate Indian village, by G. M. Dawson (30).

The Skidegate Indian village is nearly half a mile in length, consisting of a row of houses, with the usual carved posts, fronting on Village Bay of the chart. A second village is situated on the east end of Maude Island. This is quite new, having been formed by the Kuper Inlet (or 'Gold Harbour') Indians within a few years.

Totems of Chief Skidegate, according to Mrs. Elizabeth Jones and her husband, Albert Jones. Recorded in July, 1947, at Canoe Pass.

There were special carvers for totem poles. In the early days, the people were very particular about their work. It did not matter to what tribe (phratry, or clan) they belonged. As soon as they did good work, the chiefs hired them. Tanu totem carvers were the best for the south. The Ninstints tribe at Anthony Island engaged Tanu carvers for their totems. Skidegate carvers were the finest for the centre, and those of Massett also compared favourably with them. David Shakespeare [The Skaoskea of Swan] of Skidegate was a good carver, a Raven, the uncle of Charlie Edensaw. He was drowned at Cape Ball about fifty-five years ago.

Totem-pole carvers at Skidegate. The Grizzly Bear, Wasko, and Raven Totem of Chief Skedagits of Skidegate (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 123; Plate I, figure 3).

The original of Plate I, figure 3, belonged to Skedagits, chief of the Big-House-People, which was the ruling branch of the great Gitins family of Skidegate. His wife was of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit; and her crest, the grizzly bear, appears at the bottom. Grizzly bears were often represented devouring a man, because they killed many people on the mainland. [M. B. Actually this illustrates the episode in the Bear Mother myth of the capture of the young woman by a Grizzly Bear.] Above this is a raven, and surmounting that a figure of the Wasko, both crests belonging to the husband. The Wasko is a fabulous monster, part wolf, part killer whale, who hunts for black whales during the night and brings them away on its back, behind its ears, and in the curl of its tail. One whale is represented held under the tail.

Pole of The-Younger-Brother, Chief of Skidegate-Town-People (Haida), according to J. R. Swanton (97: 124, Plate II, figure 4).

Plate II, figure 4, is from the model of a pole belonging to The-Younger-Brother, chief of the Skidegate-Town-People. His wife was named The-Clean-One, a woman of the Rotten-House-People. By the Tsimshians this chief was called Llnet. The dog-fish at the top, arranged like that in Plate I, figure 2, belonged to the wife. At the bottom are an old and a young killer whale that, with the figure above which my carver could not explain, probably contain some story. It suggests the story of Gunanasimgit, whose wife was carried away by a killer whale. At any rate, the killer whales probably stand for the chief's crests as well.

Grave-post of Chief Skidegate (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 131, Plate VIII, figure 4).

The grave-post illustrated in Plate VIII, figure 4, marks an intermediate type. It was shaped like a house-pole and could be called either giangang or rhaat; yet it stood away from the house and was, in other respects, considered as a grave-post. It was put up by Jackson, the late chief of Skedagits, for his deceased wife's uncle, who belonged to Those-born-at-Qagials, of Skedans. The crests, from top to bottom, are the mountain-goat, three-finned killer whale (?), and the grizzly bear. As was sometimes the case, the horns of the mountain-goat were left out in the original. That and the grizzly bear were crests of Those-born-at-Qagials.
Skidegate
Sea-Monster pole, the Hagwelawrh at Skidegate, on the Queen Charlotte Islands, according to James Deans (36: 62–64).

Long ago the scannahs could not agree amongst themselves. To preserve peace, they were willing to have a king over them. So they sent a deputation to the walrus, asking him to be their king. This he refused to be. Then they sent to the dolphin and several others with the same result. When they could not get a king they applied to Ne-kilst-lass for help. To their request he replied, 'You shall have neither one nor other of those. This I will do for you. I will take one of your number who shall be your king, and as a distinguishing mark he shall have seven dorsal fins and his name forever shall be 'auch-willo.'

In the model village at the late World's Fair at Chicago (1893) is a house with an auch-willo totem pole. The pole stands to this day in the village of Skidegate, but the house has gone. One branch of the scannah gens had for a distinguishing mark a scannah with a hole in its dorsal fin. This is represented in the miniature village as well as often shown in pictures of the totem poles.

The origin of this hole in the dorsal fin is, as follows: The scannah was always dreaded, not only by the Hidery, but by all the tribes in northern British Columbia and southern
(Right) A totem of Skidegate, At the Provincial Museum, Victoria
Alaska as well, because these whales always tried to break the canoes and drown the Indians, who then became whales. It is told that long ago two Hidery belonging to Chief Klue’s village went out in a canoe in order to kill some of these whales, apparently as a daring adventure. They had not paddled far out to sea before the canoe was surrounded by a great number of these evil creatures which were about to break their canoe into pieces. One of the men, grasping his knife, said to the other that if he were drowned and became a scannah, he would still hold the knife and stab the others. The second man holding to a fragment of the canoe, floated near an island and swam ashore. The first was drowned, but his companion, who had escaped, soon heard strange and very loud noises beneath the water, like great guns being fired. Presently a vast number of fish floated up dead and with them a large scannah, which had a large wound in its side from which much blood flowed. The Skaggy or medicine man of the village said afterward that he knew, or saw, that the one so killed was the chief of the scannahs, and the one Indian who killed him had now become chief in his stead. He took for the crest of his clan this hole in the dorsal fin.

This clan at one time was very numerous and consequently powerful; they had a village of their own on the west coast of Queen Charlotte Island; its name I think was Teanen. For some reason or other, their powerful neighbours on the southern end of these islands, the Ninstints, declared war on them. After a long struggle the scannahs were vanquished by the Ninstints, a large number of them being taken prisoners of war and sold as slaves. As soon as they were left alone the remnant of the scannahs took all their belongings and left their ancient home forever and settled at the head of a bay far north from their much loved Teanen. Here they remained in peace for a number of years.

Again their relentless foes, the Ninstints, found them and chased them northward, led by a Skaggy of considerable ability. Having fled in a hurry, they had neglected to take food along with them, and were soon in a bad condition. They all begged of the Skaggy to take them to where they could get food. He replied, “Just wait a little; you will soon get plenty.” After a while they came to a low, rocky shore with a level country behind. “Now,” said their leader, “here is a wild looking shore; we will go into the best place we can find. The Ninstints won’t trouble us here.” So in they all went. They were not long on shore before they found this place afforded but little shelter and little food. The Skaggy said, “You shall all have plenty of food before long.” Toward evening, after they had a temporary house put up, and feeling the pangs of hunger, all again asked the Skaggy for the promised food. He replied, “To-morrow all of you look toward yonder little island. You will see plenty of food coming toward you.”

Next morning while a dark object came toward the shore, some one went to ask the Skaggy what it was, but he was nowhere to be found. After watching it, they found to their surprise that it was their Skaggy coming, riding on the back of a large whale. He had gone out towards the little island and caught a whale. As soon as he was on shore he said, “Here is the food I told you of, so now help yourselves.” This they did. Still afraid of the Ninstints and the place being bleak and cheerless, without a harbour or shelter of any sort, they were ready at any time to move. This they did before their food was exhausted. Their course was still northward, until they came to the village of Kioostia, of which Edensaw was chief. Edensaw and his people, knowing well their many troubles, kindly welcomed them and gave them a large flat on the northwest point of Queen Charlotte Island, at the entrance to Perry Passage, between the mainland of British Columbia and North Island. Under the protection of Edensaw and his powerful tribe, they built their home and gave it the name of Yakh.

Totem of the Rotten-House-People, according to Dr. J. R. Swanton (97: 123. Plate I, figure 4). The chief who set up the pole represented by Plate I, figure 4, belonged to the Rotten-House-People and his wife to Those-born-at-Rose-Spit. At the top is a grizzly bear belonging to the wife’s family; below that, a dogfish, followed by a raven and an eagle, all of which
were the husband's crests. The dog-fish is here represented as a woman with a labret, in remembrance of the woman who was carried off by the Dog-Fish-People and became one of them. The ridge around the eagle's head represents a nest in which the bird is supposed to be sitting. I do not know the significance of the small head between the dog-fish and the raven. The pole at the top, with circles cut around it, represents a chief's dance-hat, which was made in segments. In general, the more segments to a hat, the greater the honour to its wearer.


Plate XI, figure 2, shows a house at Skidegate, formerly owned, I believe, by one of the Gitins. The house door — at the side instead of through the pole — shows white influence clearly. The upper two figures on the house-pole — the raven and dog-fish — belong to the Eagle clan, and were probably those of the husband; and the figure at the bottom probably represents the killer whale, and thus was the wife's crest. I do not know the significance of the figures on the corner posts. The post with a bear on top is a memorial column.

**Pole and House of Cathlingscoon** in Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, as recorded among the Haidas by James Deans (36: 77, 78).

Many years ago a house stood in the eastern half of the village of Skidegate, named Cathlingscoon. There is a model of this house in the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago (1893). The figures on the totem post in front of it are, as follows: First and lowest, a bear eating a boy who, as the story goes, was lost in the woods and was found by a hungry bear, who ate him up. The second is a sea-otter. The third is the raven. The fourth figure is a scannah (Killer-Whale) with its tail around a woman's neck, the scannah being the wife's crest, the raven showing her phratry; her husband's crest, shown at the bottom, is a bear.

Connected with this woman is a story; she was a princess, the daughter of a great chief. She wore copper rings around her ankles. Once she and her father went to gather a certain kind of stone. They had not gone far before they lost their way. They went on until they came to a man standing in the road with a bear beside him. When they came up, the bear said to them, "This is a funny sort of a man, he has bones and
Thunderbird at Skidegate. (To right, watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912)
hair, yet he is half stone.” After looking at the man for some time
the bear asked where they were going. “To gather stones,” they said.
“May I go with you?” asked the bear. “Yes,” said both.
So they three went on together, until they came to a lake with a
deep hole in it. This hole was the home of an otter whom they shot
with bows and arrows, but having no canoe they were un­
able to retrieve it. In order to do
so, the old man made a canoe, in
which they both set out to look
for it. Sailing about looking for
it the daughter’s hook ran into
what she believed to be the lost
otter. But instead, it turned out
to be a scannah, her line having
dropped into the house of the
scannahs, one of which came up
and tried to take her down with
it. After getting away from the
scannah they did not care to
stop any longer looking for the
otter. So they started for home,
leaving the bear to go where it
pleased. When they arrived at
the stone man, they found,
where he stood, nothing but hair
and bones.

**Inside House Posts of Thunderbird** now at Vic­
toria, at the Provincial
Museum, described by J.
R. Swanton (97: 128.
Figures 9, 10).

Figures 9 and 10 represent
inside house-poles that formerly
stood at Skidegate but are now
in the vestibule of the Provincial
Museum of British Columbia at
Victoria. I obtained two explana­
tions of the carvings — one from
Tom Stevens, chief of Those­
born-at-Rose-Spit, whose family
has long intermarried with those
of Skidegate; and a second from
Amos Russ, whose parents be­
longed to the chief families of Skidegate. These agree in their explanations of the designs on
the first, except that Tom Stevens gave the name of the chief who owned it as Ganrhuat,
and Amos Russ as Dogansakihlas (“though youngest, must be obeyed”); but both were said
to have been chiefs of the Gitins. At the top of this pole (Figure 9) is a raven, represented, as
is often the case, with frogs coming out of its mouth; under this is a boy, said to be introduced
merely to fill up space; and below that, a thunderbird with a common whale in its talons.
Thunderbirds were supposed to feed upon whales. The raven is a valued crest of the Gitins;
but the thunderbird was a Raven crest and perhaps belonged to the house-owner’s wife.

The name of the chief in whose house the original of Figure 10 stood is given by Amos
Russ as Minit or Kana, and by Tom Stevens as Qamoti. He belonged to the same family as
the owner of the preceding. At the top of this pole is an eagle, crest of the Eagle clan; but my
informants differed regarding the rest of the design. Amos Russ explained it as a representa­
tion of Gunanasimget’s wife being carried off by the killer whale, the woman’s face showing
just below the eagle's beak and the whale's blow-hole being represented by a small face above the face of the killer whale. Tom Stevens, however, explained the large figure at the bottom as that of a grizzly bear, presumably meaning thereby the sea grizzly bear; and the small figure over it as the sea-ghost, which usually rides upon its back. The women's face he left unexplained; and I am inclined to think that he is in error, and that Amos Russ's explanation is the correct one. The killer whale (or grizzly bear) may have been a crest of the house-owner's wife.


One of the inside poles supporting the main beam of the gable-roof in the second house from the left in a photograph of Skidegate taken by Dr. G. H. Dawson in 1878.

**Beaver, Raven, Sun, and Grizzly Pole** of the Haidas, presumably at Skidegate. Described by James Deans (33, 34: 344).

The next [pole] is one painted in bright colours — red, yellow, and dark green. The figure at the base of this one is the Tsing (beaver) who, as is usual, is carved in a sitting posture, with a stick in his hands. Exceptionally in this case is a figure of a full moon on its belly, immediately above the oval doorway. Above, and sitting on the head of the Tsing is
(Top) House frontal pole of Skidegate. (Bottom) Gold Harbour, central Haida

the typical woman of the Haidas. In her arms she holds the young crow (*Keet-kie*). On her head is seated the raven (*Choo-cah*), having a new moon in his beak, called by the Haidas *Kuny-hi-hatla*, or crescent moon. On the raven's head is the hat of distinction, or Tadn Skeel, showing that he is a most important person, or Great Chief. On top of the Tadn
Skeel is seated the grizzly bear (Hoo-its). This column symbolizes the changes of the moon. First, the beaver has eaten up the moon, which is, as shown above, carved over the doorway. In order to show he has done it, the carver has placed it as if it shone out of his stomach. The old woman holding the young raven means that she has sent the raven away to hunt for a new moon, to take the place of the old one. In his absence she nurses the young one (raven). Having found a new moon, he has been carved as returning with it in his beak. Above all, the bear, which is the crest of the person who raised this column, is also shown, as if he were watching the restoration of the moon.

Figures 1 and 2, Plate VII, illustrate this type, the former being the model of a post that formerly stood at Skidegate; the latter, of one that probably stood at Old Gold Harbour. The first is especially interesting as having been erected for the last representative of the Sea-Otter family, the wife of one of the Skidegate chiefs. On the shaft of this post is carved the two-finned killer whale, with a human figure of uncertain significance grasping its tail. On the cross-piece at the top is a face intended to represent the Tsamaos. Both were crests of the Sea-Otters. At the lower end of figure 2 is a grizzly bear, the tracks of the animal being visible above and below; and on the cross-bar is the moon. Both were crests of He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed, chief of the Pebble-Town-People, for whom this pole was
Gold Harbour

put up. The human figure in the moon, holding a bucket in one hand and the fragment of a salal-berry bush in the other, is explained by a story of the Massett series. [M.B. An episode in the Skawa myth of the Gitksans.]

**Totem Poles at New Gold Harbour** (Jacobsen) (Haida, West Coast of Queen Charlotte Islands) (A. Woldt—109: 27).

One of the poles, standing by itself, is a grave-post, with a flat cross-board at the top, the Thunderbird with wings spread out. On the shaft of the post is the double-finned whale or Wasko, head down. The smaller man holding onto the tail of the monster is the Strong-Man (Su'san).
Gold Harbour

A large house with a tall pole standing beside the oval doorway, and two corner posts, all carved. The tall central pole shows the Raven at the top holding a copper shield in his beak. The other figures are not drawn clearly enough on the reproduction for their identification. Two human beings with conical hats surmounted by cylinders (skils) stand on the upper part of the corner posts. A large tree lies on the ground in the process of being carved, canoe-like, as a hollow-back totem pole.

Totem Poles of Tsahl, at the western end of the Skidegate Channel, on the Queen Charlotte Islands. According to Mr. Fairbairn, long employed by the Department of Fisheries of the Dominion Government, there were
Gold Harbour
nine or ten totem poles standing on Tsahl. Some of them, 35 feet or 40 feet high, were among the finest. They were carved the whole way up. Mr. Fairbairn took photographs, but his negatives were lent and lost. He still has one of these negatives at his home in Skidegate.

**Migration of Hippa Island families** (Haida) in opposite directions to Alaska, where they became Kaiganis, and to Old Xaina on the eastern end of Maude Island, and finally to Skidegate, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 84).

**Children-of-Nastow** (nastogikanat) from Hippah Island at Skidegate (Haida), according to Luke Watson of Skidegate, in 1947.

George Smith, the Haida wood-carver of Skidegate, was the informant's uncle. He belonged to the generation of totem carvers that came to an end about 1910. (He died very old, about 1937.) His crests were the Thunderbird, the Finback Whale, and the Snag (tsem'aus), all of which appeared together on the poles of the family.

On his mother's side, he was originally from Hippah Island (nastow), on the northwestern side of Graham Island, and was called, like the informant himself who succeeded him, Child-of-Nastow. From Nastow these people long ago moved south to Tsahl, at the western end of Canoe Pass (Skidegate Channel). This tribe had carvings on house fronts. For a time they increased in number there. By and by, after the white people had come in sailing ships, the Children-of-Nastow moved again, this time eastwards to Maude Island (rhaine), where George Watson, the informant's father (kahlai), was the head-chief, "like a major." He looked nearly like a white man and was bald-headed in middle age. (Luke Watson, the informant,
Maude Island, near Skidegate

is a white man; as a child he was adopted into the tribe.) Eventually about 60 years ago, the various southern villages of the Haidas gathered together at Skidegate, where a smaller southern village had existed for some time.

**CUMSHEWA**

**The Pole of Kohlans** on the Queen Charlotte Islands, seen at the Field Museum in Chicago in 1916. Collected by Dr. C. F. Newcombe. (No. 19017). Height, $44\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The label read: "A Raven represented that is believed to live in the ocean." Below the Raven is a Killer-Whale (*S'kana*) — "the blow-hole of which is represented below the Dorsal-fin by the reversed head." "Of these crests, the lower ones were inherited by Kohlans from his mother; the upper one he adopted in rivalry with a chief of Skidegate, and the 'copper' in the Raven's beak was put there to show that he prevailed against his rival in a competitive distribution of property."

**The Pole of Gitkagyas** now at the American Museum of Natural History, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 127. figure 7).

Figure 7 represents a pole obtained for the American Museum of Natural History by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, from Abraham Moss (or Gitkagyas), one of the Cumshewa people. He gives the following explanation of it. The two figures at the top represent the horned owl. Next comes the figure of a chief, undoubtedly the one who erected this pole. Below him is the Thunderbird, and at the bottom the Black Whale. The horned owl was used as a crest by the Witch-people of Cumshewa and probably belonged to the house-owner. The Black Whale was used as a crest by some Eagle families and may also have been his; but the Thunderbird was a Raven crest and probably belonged to his wife's family. It is more likely, however, that the Whale and Thunderbird were put one under the other, because Thunderbirds were supposed to live upon whales, and the figures often occur in the same relative position (See figure 9).

**Raven and Thunderbird Pole** from Cumshewa, now in a municipal park in Prince Rupert. Identified by William Beynon in 1939.
Cumshewa
This pole is said to have belonged to the family of George Young and to have been a monument of the Raven phratry.

The figures, from the top down, are: (1) three small "watchmen" with two or three skil cylinders on the head; (2) Eagle with a human face on its body; this presumably is an allusion to the clan myth wherein a person or two are carried back home through the air by the bird; (3) Raven with long beak bent down on his body; (4) Thunderbird under the Tsimsyan form of Skyaimsem; on its body a small bird-like animal, but with flippers; (5) Whale (usually associated with the Thunderbird) with a seal dangling from its mouth. An exceptional addition here to the Whale in its connection with the Thunderbird is the person, head down, riding on the back of the Whale. This is no doubt Gunarhnesemgyet whose story (Orpheus-like) is almost inseparably connected with the Whale.

As these crests belong to two opposite phratries, they must represent both the husband and the wife's families.

This pole, like the others in Prince Rupert, has suffered from a spurious coat of commercial paint which now disfigures it. It may have been almost, if not wholly, unpainted when salvaged from its abandoned village.
SKEDANS

The Skedans' close association with the Gitrhahla tribe of the Tsimsyans, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 79).
The chief of Those-born-at-Qagials, who was at the same time town chief of Skedans, was one of the most influential of all Haida chiefs. His importance he seems to have owed rather to the arts of peace than to those of war. As already stated, he was a close friend
Skedans. (Top) Skedans in 1909. (Bottom) Skedans
Skedans
of the Tsimshian chief at Kitkatla, Djaibasa; and new crests, new stories, and new features for the potlatch came to the Haida through these two chiefs oftener than in any other way. The present chief of Skedans explained their friendship as follows: "When Djaibasa and his people came down from the Nass, two canoes came halfway over to Skedans from Kitkatla, and the people sang a song there, after which they separated. One returned and settled at Kitkatla; the other kept on and founded Skedans. After this the two chiefs always treated each other as brothers (i.e., they considered themselves of the same clan)." Skedans was thus looked up to as the town where new fashions were set and, perhaps in consequence, seems to have had an exemption from war not enjoyed by most other towns. Among the war-stories I have collected, only one involves Skedans, although its neighbours in Skidegate and Kloo were continually fighting. The near-by town of Cunshewa appears to have suffered even less.

The Pole of Neeswas (Haida), explained by J. R. Swanton (97: 123. Plate II, Figure 1).

Plate II, figure 1, shows the model of a pole belonging to Neeswas, chief of Those-born-at-Qagials of Skedans, whose wife was a woman of Those-born-at-Skedans. The beaver and eagle at the top were crests of Those-born-at-Skedans. Below the second of them is a figure intended to represent the moon, and under that, a grizzly bear. They belonged to Those-born-at-Qagials. The doorway to this house, as in all the older houses, passed through the pole itself. After contact with the whites, a swinging door, cut at one side of the pole, took its place.

Tanu

The Poles of Tanu. Queen Charlotte Islands, were, according to W. A. Newcombe, carved about 1870. He referred the author to Henry Moody, a carver born at Tanu, a resident of Skidegate most of his life.

Grizzly and Killer-Whale totem pole at Tanu, Queen Charlotte Islands, at the Field Museum, Chicago (in 1916). Collected by Dr. C. F. Newcombe in 1902 [No. 79786]. Height, 17 feet.

The label contained the following information:

The figures, from above downwards, are a small female mythical monster, partaking of the mixed characters of the Grizzly Bear (Hwadji) and the Killer-Whale (S'kana). The middle figure is the father of the last, a sea-bear, half bear and half Killer-Whale, of the kind called Neeth by the

1 Bella Bella, Teebasa ("place of holding in talons").
Skedans in 1947

Tsimshians, from whom the Haida derive the story of this monster, etc. "These were the Raven clan crests of the owner's wife... It was used at potlatches and feasts by the owner of the house, whose crests were shown on the high outside post, and who belonged to the Eagle clan."
Ruins of Skedans

Tanu
A fallen pole at Skedans, 1947

Tanu
Gitkun's house at Tanu
Grizzly-Bear house at Tanu
The Grizzly-Bear pole at Tanu
Tanu totems. (Right) In the bush. (Left and Centre) In Prince Rupert
Tanu and Skedans totem poles. (Left) At the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. (Centre) At the Anthropological Museum of the University of California. (Right) At the Smithsonian Institution
Tanu totems at Prince Rupert
Tanu and Cumshewa poles in Thunderbird Park, Victoria
(Right) Mortuary pole, collected by C. F. Newcombe
(Lower) Tanu totem at Thunderbird Park, Victoria

Grave posts and totems at Ninstints on Anthony Island
The Ninstints tribe becoming extinct, according to James Deans, in "Tales of the Hidery" (36: 64, 65).

Edensaw the chief, who was my informant, told me they [the Ninstints] had comfortable homes on a beautiful tract of land. Then hard luck seems to have followed them, because in 1883, when I was at their village, it was in ruins. Not a living soul of this once powerful tribe was left. First, children ceased to be born into the tribe. Then the few left died. Then one by one the old folks passed away until one old man alone of all the others was left in the village. Then kind folks in the next village took care of him until he was gathered to his fathers. There being no one left to take care of the houses, they soon fell to pieces. Even the tombs are falling and exposing the mummified remains of the dead. Their tall, elaborately carved totem poles are yielding to the inevitable.

Passing through their ruined village one day, I came to a little house about 6 feet square; looking inside I saw two or three coffins. Standing up against one of them was the insignia of the chief of this clan. On inquiry afterward, I found that this was the tomb of the last chief. When he died, there was none left to take his place. As it may be interesting to some to have a description of his insignia of office, I will give it here. First a wooden whale 14 inches in length. On its back was a dorsal fin about the same length, with the usual round hole in it. On the other side was a staff 3 feet in length, let into the fish's belly. As for the Skaggy going out to the little island and catching a whale and bringing it ashore, he was firmly believed in by all the people. The place where they lived on the little island appears to be about ten miles from the shore.

The Ninstints tribe, so named after their chief, lived on an island shown on the chart as Anthony at the entrance to Houston Stewart Channel. To-day this tribe are few in numbers, and their village is almost a ruin.

The Ninstints, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 105).

The Ninstints people had considerable racial individuality. They were great fighters and sent expeditions in all directions. Their greatest enemies were the people of Kloot; but they warred with those of Kaisun and Tca'at'l on the west coast, with the people of Skidegate and Massett, with the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Bella, and Kwakiutl tribes, as far, at least, as Alert Bay. Families of the other groups were also apt to war in company, except that in the second group the Klool people seem to have done most of the fighting.
Totems at Ninstints
The Beaver totems of Ninstints

The Ninstints Tribe as now described. The Ninstints tribe of the Haidas at Anthony Island, southeast of Moresby Island at the southern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The author visited the site of this long-deserted village in July, 1947, and took photographs of the totem poles still standing.

According to Mrs. Elizabeth Jones of Canoe Pass on the Skidegate Channel, Tim Teit, whom she called "Old Man Teit," was known to belong to the Ninstints tribe, then about to become extinct. Thirty or forty years ago, Teit and Johnny Williams used to go to trap there in the spring
and stay a month. This spot had been deserted for years. The Ninstints and
the Tanu people had been enemies; they used to kill one another.

The first night Teit and Williams camped there, one spring, they heard
strange noises and felt uneasy. Teit wanted to move away and not meddle,
but there was no wind just then, and their canoes were drawn up far above
the tide line. In the middle of the night they heard their boats moving
around, but they could do nothing about it. When they got up in the
morning, they found Williams' boat floating about loose. They figured it
was due to their enemies of former times, who did not want them there. So
they pushed their canoes off and paddled away.
The Ninstints, according to W. H. Russ (66 years old in 1947, of the same group as Mrs. Jones, at Canoe Pass), spoke a different language from the Haidas. "They pronounced way different." They could not be understood. The only ones surviving now may be George Green, of Skidegate, a young fellow, and quite a few of them—a large family, with very tall girls—at Nanaimo, Vancouver Island. Of this the informant was sure, as he had seen these Nanaimo people.

**The Ninstints Eagles**, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 94).

Tradition says that the Ninstints Eagles lived first at Tlgadan, whence they afterwards scattered, especially along the western coast. Duck-Town (?) (Sgilgi), at the bottom of a wide inlet, seems to have been their chief settlement. In later days, when the families all came together in Ninstints, the Saki-born seem to have moved first. At any rate, their chief was chief of the town. Since that time there are said to have been only four chiefs of the family, but that must certainly be greatly underestimated.

Then follows a full version of Dzilaqons story: the Frog episode, etc. pp. 94, 95.

**The Whale-Slave's Totem Pole.** The Keel-coonuc or Whale's-Slave totem pole of Ninstints, on the Queen Charlotte Islands, according to James Deans (36: 65, 66).

At one end of the division behind the model Hidery village in the Anthropological building of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago were several other models of Indian houses from different parts of British Columbia. In this smaller collection were two Haida houses. These were placed apart from the others, because they were part of Ninstints town, a village on the southern end of Queen Charlotte Islands. The name of one of the houses was nah-heeldans, house of the earthquake, because, it seems, while this house was being built,
there was an earthquake. A man named Quill-ance built it; his wife was named Gawh-nutt. The figures on the totem post are, as follows: First, the lowest, is a sort of fish which was once very abundant in the waters on the Alaskan coasts and near Fort [Port] Simpson in northern British Columbia. The name of this fish was Keel-coonuc or whale's slave, because it seems to have always gone ahead of the whale, to lead it to good feeding grounds. As the principal story connected with it belongs to the Scannah totem, I shall give it here.

Long ago, at the Indian town Kitt-kathla [Tsimshian] in northern British Columbia, lived a man who by birth was half Kitt-kathla and half Billa-billa, a neighbouring tribe. He always lived at Kitt-kathla. This man's name was Keel-coonuc, and he is said to have been a Scannah in disguise. Walking along shore one day, he espied four men coasting in a canoe. They were hunting and fishing. As soon as Keel-coonuc saw them, he made for the canoe and took possession of it and the men. He then pulled them under the water where he kept them a whole year. During the absence of the men, their friends who had been seeking them everywhere unsuccessfully came at last to the brother of Keel-coonuc and asked him if he ever saw four men who some time ago had gone hunting and fishing in a canoe. He replied that he knew nothing of them, but would ask his brother if he had seen them and would do everything possible to find them. The friends replied they would be glad if he could, for the families of the four men were starving. The house in which the two brothers lived
Totems of Ninstints
Totems of Ninstints
had no sides, only a roof, and was full of Scannahs. Amongst them were the four men kept as prisoners. When his brother asked him if he had at any time seen four men hunting and fishing in a canoe, he replied: "Yes, I have them here." So Keel-coonuc went and drove them all outside, saying, "Here are your friends; take them with you and go home." So all left for home, arriving safely in due course, after their initiation into one of the societies belonging to the Scannah crest.

Then follow "the traditions of the Skannah totem and stories" (recorded elsewhere but too long to reproduce here) (36: 66–70).

The Anget Totem of Cape St. James (the Ninstints tribe of the Haidas), identified by William Beynon; it now stands in the municipal park at Prince Rupert.

This pole may come from Ninstints, the remotest southern village of the Haidas, whose last known survivors moved to Captain Klue's village, then to Skidegate, about 60 years ago. It belonged to the Eagle phratry in the Anget family.

Its figures, from the top down, are: (1) Eagle, a substitute for the original figure that had fallen or had been lost before the restoration; (2) Eagle with beak bent down; (3) Bear with a small frog-like being hanging from its mouth; (4) Grizzly Bear carrying the young woman away to his den, a young bear cub (with human features) and on his head a conical hat with three skils.

This pole, like the other restorations in the Prince Rupert park, is now covered with an unauthentic coat of gaudy paint.

The Raven with protruding tongue, possibly of Ninstints (Haida), now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert; according to Alfred Adams, in 1939.

A large and fine carving, this pole came from the Ninstints tribe of Cape St. James, now almost extinct, whose village was the southernmost of the Haidas and had been deserted for about sixty years. The carvings on it could not be identified, but Alfred Adams thinks that these are connected with the adventures of the supernatural Raven at the beginning of the world. The Raven not only had great creative powers but was also a jester, apt at times to make a fool of himself. Once he went fishing with Kyallo or Tsihaots, the Cormorant, but could not catch any fish, and he pulled his tongue out in jest. That is why the Haida carvers often showed him pulling out his tongue, Another time, while going about with his companion the Butterfly, he broke the Butterfly in two, in a mix-up with the Sea-Lion, and drew its insides out. But he spat on it all and brought back his friend to life. In Sea-Lion town, just to deceive the stupid Sea-Lion, he pretended to eat red-hot stones, and the
(Left) Totem pole of Ninstints at Prince Rupert
The Anget pole of Ninstints at Prince Rupert
Houses and totems of Kung village in Virago Sound
At the old abandoned village of Kyusta, close to Langara

Sea-Lion (to his loss) tried the same trick. Some of the figures on this pole may refer to such adventures of the Raven. Another figure in the centre of the pole illustrates an episode of the Sea-Dog or Wasko myth; here the Strong-Man of the Haida (Su'san) holds the Sea-Dog, head down, in his arms.

This pole, like the others at Prince Rupert, has been luridly painted with commercial colours.

Unidentified

The Killer-Whale Totem in Bremen, Germany (Stadt Museum). No. 43 (full face), and 43b (in profile). Ernst Fuhrmann (49).

A tall and very fine pole of the Skidegate style in the 1880's, showing, (1) the Killer-Whale and dorsal fin; (2) a human face upside down; (3) two Grizzly Bears, at the bottom.

At Kyusta

Sir E. B. Tyler (in The Journal of the Anthropological Institute (N.S.) Vol. 1, Plate XIII) describes these posts as follows:

They "were sent over from British Columbia in 1887. They were obtained by Mr. James H. Innes, then Superintendent of the Government Dock-Yard, Esquimalt Harbour, from Mr. Hall, Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Port Simpson, and now stand in the Pitt-Rivers Collection in the University Museum, Oxford. They display two totems, the Bear and the Killer-Whale (Orca ater), belonging to the Haida-Tsimshians of the Mainland. In both cases the figures go beyond mere representations of the totem animals and depict a mythical incident in which the human ancestor is believed to have come into relation with the animal which was thence adopted as the totem of the clan. The myth of Hoorts the Bear and Toivats the Hunter being also represented on the Fox Warren totem post described in the previous paper, the story there told need not be repeated here. The story of the Killer-Whale, to which the carving undoubtedly refers, is substantially as follows: Ages ago the Indians were out seal-hunting. A killer kept alongside of a canoe, and the Indians amused themselves by throwing stones from the canoe ballast and hitting the back fin of the killer, which made for the shore and grounded on the beach. Soon smoke
Fishing village on Lucy Island
A unique totem carving at Kyusta, Queen Charlotte Islands
Totems, houses, and natives of Yan, Queen Charlotte Islands
The last totems at Yan
Totem poles of Yan
Totems of Yan

Totem of Yan
was seen, and they found it was a large canoe and not the Killer-Whale (Skana) on the beach, and that a man was on shore cooking food, who asked them why they threw stones at his canoe. 'You have broken it,' he said. 'Now go into the woods and get some cedar withes and mend it.' When they had done so, he told them to turn their backs to the water and cover their heads with their skin blankets and not look till he called them. They heard it grate on the beach as it was hauled down into the surf, and the man said, 'Look now!' Then they saw the canoe going over the first breaker and the man sitting in the stern, but when it came to the second breaker it went under and came up a Killer and not a canoe, and the man or demon was in its belly."

The Grizzly Bear and Raven Pole of Massett, now in the McGill University Museum at Montreal.

This pole has been described by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, in the Ottawa Naturalist (75). It bears the No: Acc. No. 2971, as “Gift of Dr. F. Buller.” No other information is given.

This tall and fine pole may be over 40 feet high; it is quite wide. It may have been unpainted, or at least the paint is no longer discernible, although the pole was not very old when collected.

Its figures, from the top down, are:
1. The Grizzly-Bear or a Bear cub climbing a tree, which elsewhere is called the Play-Pole of the Bear;
2. Bear Mother with protruding tongue and her other Cub in front of her;
3. The Eagle here quite small, with wings over its head;
An Eagle post at Yan. (Watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912)
Haida village of Massett, about 1880
Masset, looking southwards
Masset, looking northwards
Masset
Massett
4. The Grizzly Bear again with protruding tongue, and what seems to be the Frog between the front paws of the Bear; this presumably is an allusion to the mythical Frog Woman or Dzelarhons of the Haidas;

5. The Supernatural Raven and his Son sitting in front of him. This is a familiar theme of Haida and Tlingit mythology. (The story is retold elsewhere in this book.)

This splendid Massett carving is obviously from the hands of the same carver, Riddley, as the taller pole of Massett now standing in Jasper Park. Both develop the same crests — the Raven, the Grizzly Bear and the Cubs, the Eagle, and the Frog Woman.

The McGill Totem Pole in Montreal at McGill University (museum in the School of Pathology). A gift of Dr. F. Buller (Acc. No. 2971), "this pole has been in the possession of McGill University for a great number of years, and it seems that the data which must have accompanied it have disappeared."

Dr. C. F. Newcombe, from whom I quote (75: 99–102), added:

About ten years ago, [C.F.N.] obtained, through the kind assistance of Dr. Adams, then in charge of the Redpath Museum, the negative from which the full length plate has been engraved. It was his hope . . . to learn, from the Indians whose villages he was about to visit, something of the original owner, and the meaning of the various carvings. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. No one could recall the sale of such a pole, but at Massett it was agreed that it bore a close resemblance to a figure in Dr. J. R. Swanton's
Masset
Masset
The oldest house standing at Massett in 1901
Massett totems. Chief Wiah's house and totems
'The Haida' (97: 127. Plate V, figure 1). . . There is nothing at all like the McGill pole in the large series of photographs of Haida and Tsimshian villages, which represent literally hundreds of totem poles.

Dr. Newcombe, in the same article, gave his views on the crests of this pole and the myths usually connected with them. A different interpretation may be offered here for two out of three of these emblems.

1. Dr. Newcombe's identification of Bear Mother and Cub may be accepted, as well as the summaries of the myth of Bear Mother as recorded by Dr. Franz Boas and Dr. J. R. Swanton. Elsewhere in this book, other versions of the same tradition are given in brief or in full. Dr. Newcombe's summary follows:

There are several versions of the story to which Dr. Swanton refers. That one quoted by him, which was obtained from a Massett source by Dr. F. Boas, is, as follows:

In this version the hunter belonged to the Eagle clan and was named Gats. Unsuccessful in his hunting he was one day seized by a bear which carried him to his den. The she-bear hides him between her legs. The bear goes hunting and on his return asks his wife what became of the man. She says that he only brought his belt. She marries the man. The dogs (the man has two) return to the village. The people follow them, discover the he-bear, and kill him. The man and the she-bear have a child. Finally he is homesick, and his wife allows him to return.

The she-bear forbids him to look at his former wife. One day he goes hunting with his two human sons. He meets the bear and gives her food. His companions are afraid. One day when he is drawing water he meets his former (human) wife and smiles at her. Next time when he takes seals to his bear wife, her ears are turned forward. She jumps into the water, attacks him, and kills him and his two sons.

In a Tlingit version given by Dr. Boas, the man and his bear wife have three children. The children, according to most of the versions, took the form of bear cubs but, when indoors, take off their skins and are then human.

The figure at the top of the pole, on a tree, is the Grizzly Bear, or possibly one of the two Cubs. The other carving in the centre, just above the bird, is Bear Mother, with protruding tongue, holding a Cub, head down, on her chest.

2. Of the carving at the base of the pole, Dr. Newcombe, again quoting Dr. Swanton, merely stated that it must have "belonged to Qogis, chief of the Point-Town-People, and stood in front of his house, Fort-House (Taodji Nass), on a hill close to Massett. At the bottom, above the doorway of this house, are a frog and a raven..." etc. Dr. Swanton's illustration to which the McGill pole is compared is merely a miniature pole such as Charles Edensaw carved all his life for white purchasers of souvenirs and without strictly conforming to the crest system.

Actually the figures here are those of Raven and his Son, which appear on other poles, actual or in miniature, of the Haida and the Tlingit, and illustrate an episode in the Creation myth of the Raven. A full version, in 1947, was dictated partly in English by Albert Jones of Skidegate. A summary, quite different, was given to me (in English) in 1947 by Henry Young, an aged informant of Skidegate belonging to the Raven phratry. In brief this story, which is unprintable, develops the following theme (in Young's version):

Raven, at the beginning, had a sister who lived all alone with him. One day, while he was carving a bow and an arrow, and planing the wood with a knife, many chips flew
about. His sister sat in front of him and rested on her back in front of the fire in the open. He threw the chips into the fire and, as he stood in front of her, he realized that, as a female, she was different from him, a male. A spark flew out of the fireplace and burned her. She was scared. To relieve her pain, the Raven advised her to go to the lodge and conjure for medicine—hildikagegnaa. "If you hear someone calling for you while there, go out towards the voice. If you see there something jutting out of the ground, sit down on it." She did, and heard the Raven’s voice, kakhkakh! She was sitting on top of her brother, who was lying half-buried in the sand. Angered, she pulled him out and cried, "Shame!" Truly ashamed, he hid himself underground after having marked his hiding-place. Very soon a son was born to his sister, and his name was Saqayuhl. This is why a little boy is shown on the totem pole in front of the Raven (between his folded wings). As the child grew up he lost his way in the woods and could not be found. This happened at the time when the Raven was travelling all over the island and the coast. One day when he was on the mainland, he met his son after he was quite grown up and showed him how to produce lightning out of one’s own body.

Raven and his Son are seen, for instance, on a large totem pole standing in the village at Wrangell, Alaska, and on an argillite pole also showing the Supernatural Snag (narhinnarem-tsemaus), in the museum of the University of British Columbia.

3. Near the top of the monument is an important group of figures, the most important in the identification of the pole. This group consists of a large head and face with protruding tongue on the erect body of a person or a quadruped. The tail of a sea mammal is turned up in front of the body, thus revealing the identity of the whole figure, the Killer-Whale. Below the protruding tongue in front of the large body a human face is inserted. Between the sides of the tail and the claws another face is found, that of the Eagle. This heraldic group clearly is meant as a representation of the myth of Gunarhnesemgyet, or a North American variant of the myth of Orpheus. Given in full elsewhere, it is often utilized in crests and carvings on the coast of the mainland south of Skeena River, at Skidegate and Moresby Island to the south (Queen Charlotte Islands), though apparently not on Graham Island and Massett to the north.

It is quite possible that this pole belongs to the southern Haida group rather than to the northern, as surmised by Dr. Newcombe. And it was probably collected by Dr. G. M. Dawson at the same time as the large Haida pole at the National Museum of Canada. Dr. Dawson belonged to the Geological Survey, as its director, and, by training and affiliation, to McGill University. His collections of carvings from the north Pacific Coast are found in both institutions.

**Masset Group**

**Northern villages of the Haidas in 1878 (Dawson)** (30: 162, 163).

In Parry Passage there are three village sites, two of which are on the south side, and completely abandoned. The outer or western one of these shows the remains of several houses and carved posts and is called Kab-ooh. The second, about half a mile farther East, is named Kioo-sta, and had been a place of great importance. This, as already mentioned, seems to have been Edensaw’s place of residence at the time of Douglas’ visit, and has probably been deserted for about ten years. It is nearly in the same state as the first mentioned. The houses, about twelve in number, with carved posts, are still standing, though completely surrounded by rank grass and young bushes, overgrown with moss, and rapidly falling into decay.

On the opposite side of Parry Passage, facing a narrow channel between North Island and Lucy Island is the village that Douglas calls Tartanee. It now consists of but six houses, small and of inferior construction; and a single carved post stands a little apart from the village, but it is not very old.
Massett totems

In the first bay east of Klas-kwun Point, between North Island and the entrance of Virago Sound, the Ya-tea, or knife village, is situated. Like many of the Haida villages, its position is much exposed, and it must be difficult to land at it with strong northerly and northeasterly winds. This village site is quite new, having been occupied only a few years. There are at present eight or ten roughly built houses, with a few poorly carved posts.

At the time of our visit, in August, 1878, a great part of the population of the northern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands was collected here preparatory to the erection of carved posts and the giving away of property, for which the arrival of the Kai-ga-ni Haidas had waited, these people being unable to cross owing to the prevalent fog and rough weather.

The village just within the narrow entrance to Virago Sound, from which these people are moving, is called Kung. It has been a substantial and well-constructed village but is now rather decayed, though some of the houses are still inhabited. The houses arranged along the edge of a low bank, facing a fine sandy beach, are eight or ten in number, some of them quite large. The carved posts though not very numerous are, in a few instances, elaborate.

About the entrance to Massett Inlet there are three villages, two on the east side and one on the west. The latter is called Yan, and shows about twenty houses new and old, with thirty carved posts. The outer of these, on the east side, at which the Hudson Bay Post is situated, is named Ut-te-was, the inner Ka-yung. The Ut-te-was village is now the most populous, and there are in it about twenty houses, counting both large and small. Split cedar planks have been carried away from some, leaving only the massive frames standing. Of carved posts there are over forty in all. As in the northern part of the islands generally, these differ considerably from those of Skidegate and other southern villages.

The styles of the northern posts are somewhat more varied. The short, stout form, with a signboard-like square made of split planks at the top, is comparatively rare. Some of the Massett posts are merely stout poles, with very little carving, and at this place a thick, short post with a conical roof was observed, of a kind not seen elsewhere. At the south end of the Ut-te-was village is a little hill, on which the houses both here and beyond appear to be considered to form a distinct village, though generally included in the former. The remaining Massett village (Ka-yung) is smaller than this one and was not particularly examined.
Just east of Tow Hill and on low ground on the east bank of Hi-ellen River, a few much-decayed carved posts and beams of former houses are still standing, where, according to the Indians, a large village formerly existed.

**Tian and Hippah Island.**

There are good totem poles at Tian, a deserted Haida village on the west coast north of Hippah Island, but south of Frederick Island (according to Albert Jones, of Skidegate, in 1947). These poles were rotting away when seen 10 years before.

**An Inside Pole of Edensaw at Kyusta,** described by J. R. Swanton (97: 128. Plate V, figure 2).

In addition to the main house-pole, the greatest chiefs had an inside pole. This was placed in the middle of the rear part of the house, the seat just in front of it being that always reserved for the highest rank. One of these inside poles is represented in Plate V, figure 2. It stood in another house of Chief Edensaw, called One-that-can-hold-Crowds, which he occupied after his people moved from Kyusta to Kung in Naden Harbour; but it was copied from a still older one in a house belonging to this family at Tlieang River.

From the bottom up, the figures are: a frog, hawk surmounted by the figure of a young hawk [M.B. Thunderbird] wearing a dance-hat; raven with two frogs in its mouth; and grizzly bear. All of these, except the grizzly bear, the presence of which was not explained, were claimed as crests by the Stastas. Although the hawk (skiamsh) [Thunderbird] was owned by several Raven families, it is said that when the original pole was put up at Tlieang, this family was also possessed of it.

**Kyusta village** on the northwest tip of the Queen Charlotte Islands was one of the most frequently visited Haida villages during the early period of the sea-otter and China trade; it was described in a few of the Voyages of the sea captains. Here are a few remarks about it by Alfred Adams of Massett (1939), who was born in 1876: "When I was just a baby, only a
few people were left at Kyusta (before their complete removal to Yan and Massett to the east). There used to be a grave there, the front of which was beautifully carved. The whole of it was 8 feet or 10 feet high. The graves at Kyusta were right in the village. Several houses still stood there in the 1880's. One I remember was the Fairy House (skilnas). It belonged to Albert Edensaw. There is a legend about the Fairies belonging to Edensaw's group. Another house farther west belonged to the Tsishlendzaws of an Eagle clan, in the lead of the Stastas before the rise of Edensaw. An explorer who came there long ago was Captain Douglas, who exchanged his name for that of the Indian head-chief. This chief, who obtained the name of Douglas, belonged to the family that was later to have Edensaw as its head-chief."
Yakun village. The former Haida village of Yakun on the northwestern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, according to information recorded in 1939 from Alfred Adams of Massett (born in 1876).

Besides Kyusta there was another northwestern Haida village on the west side of the point. Its name, Yakway, sounds like Tlingit. It belonged mostly to the Tiyan Stlinlanaws, who had their headquarters there. Among the most famous warriors here were Kakyæ (a Skidegate word), Rhi, and two others. There is quite a long story about them. Some totem poles still stand there, quite old and beautifully carved. Joshua Moody’s family came from there; his people were of high rank. They had moved to Massett. Joshua Moody had become poor, yet he remained very proud. He would not stand an insult from anybody. At Yakun stood a pole, still well remembered by the informant, of a long Finback Whale (blackfish).

The Raven of Klaskun, now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert; according to Alfred Adams and William Beynon in 1939.

This pole was described as Harry Young’s property, or the pole of the Sangkalanos family at Ya’ats or Klaskun, a village at Seven-Miles on the east side of Klaskun, toward North Island, now abandoned. Only one house and one pole were left in this deserted village.

It may have been carved for or by Albert Edward Edensaw, uncle of the better-known carver, Charles Edensaw, as it belongs to his district.

Figures on the pole, as far as they could be identified by the informants, are: (1) Raven at the top (lost, but replaced by William Beynon and a native assistant); (2) A sea monster, perhaps the Sea-dog or Wasco; (3) Beaver sitting and displaying as usual its incisors; (4) The smaller figure in front of the Beaver, perhaps the Bear; (5) Skyaimsem or Thunderbird; (6) Whale from whose mouth dangles a seal. The Thunderbird and the Whale are usually associated, and here the bird, in comparison with the Whale, is smaller than elsewhere.
Totems and house poles on Graham Island
This pole, like the others in Prince Rupert, has been coated with gaudy commercial colours, though presumably unpainted originally.

The Ginaawan Pole of the Middle-Town-People (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 130. Plate V. Figure 3).

Plate V, Figure 3, is from the model of a pole erected for Duncan Ginaawan, whose mother belonged to the Middle-Town-People and who received his first name from his father, a white man named Duncan. One of the same design formerly stood at Old Kaigani in Alaska. At the bottom is a grizzly bear. The flattened shaft surmounting this, together with the raven standing on top, represents the mythical killer called Raven-Fin. In the original, the eyes and feathers were set with abalone-shells. On the front of the fin there were originally two coppers, but one of these, called Standing-Copper, was afterwards removed and sold for $275 in cash and $25 in blankets. The other, which is tied to the model (but not represented in the cut), was called Mountain-Copper. It was of very little value.


Description. This large stately pole now standing "in the beautiful grounds of Fox Warren . . . rises 41 feet from the ground on a foundation of concrete . . . It is understood to have been more than 10 feet longer, but the lower end embedded in the ground was sawn through about the ground-line . . . The front part is carved, the back being hollowed out."

"The carvings from the top down, as seen on the illustration, are: (1) the three so-called Watchmen sitting side by side, with tall "skil" hats on their heads, the man in the centre being larger and taller than the two others; (2) unidentified figure which is either the Killer-Whale holding a small figure, head down, in its mouth and between its hands — possibly the Frog, or Bear-Mother with a cub; (3) Grizzly Bear with a cub on its head and a human being in front of its body between its arms and legs; this may be meant for the Bear Husband with his human wife in front, and a cub on its head or simply Bear-Mother with the two cubs, one a bear and the other a human; under the protruding tongue of the Bear a fringe-like object which may represent a neck ornament or the top of the bear's den; (4) Killer-Whale sitting up, its tail in front of its body and flippers protruding from its mouth. A human head and two hands are seen between its ears, and two smaller human figures are huddled in the ears."

For the quality of its carvings, its size and width, this Haida pole is one of the finest. But it is not a Massett or northern pole, as presumed by Sir E. B. Tyler. Its style of carving, the arrangement of the three Watchmen at the top, the size of the hat surmounted with many cylinders, all point to its belonging to the southern Haida group of Skidegate and the few villages below this central one on the east coast — Cumshewa, Skedans, or Tanu. It is similar to the third pole in the Skidegate row of poles as seen in one of G. M. Dawson's photographs of this village in the early eighties.

Other information. Apparently no information was recorded by the collector, and Sir E. B. Tyler probably only presumed that it came from the northern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands when he wrote: "Among the most remarkable of such villages now standing is Massett . . . whence the post . . . was sent over some years since (before 1899) by Mr. Bertram Buxton."

The Pole at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England. Its reproductions in colour, as it stands at the museum and as it was found in the row of poles at Massett, are given in Man (105); and its origin is explained in an article by Sir E. B. Tyler. Tyler wrote:

This post stood till last year in the remarkable row of such posts in front of the chiefs' houses. . . Its present height, after being sawn across near the ground and set on a base in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, is a little over forty feet, not far from the original height. . . Above all sit the three chiefs wearing the tall chief's hat (tadn skilik). It happened, fortunately, that the two house-posts between which the totem-pole now stands (Journ. Anthr. Inst. Vol. XXVIII, plate xiii) came from the same village, perhaps from the same
house. Thus the story of Hoorts the Bear hugging to death Towats the Hunter appears twice, a good example of Haida totemism, in which the totem-animal represents, not a forefather (for the Haidas say a bear is always re-born a bear), but a mythical creature who figures in the traditions of the family ... No more posts are likely to be set up at Massett. Missionary influence has impressed on the native mind a sense of such art being a waste of labour.

No other information is given as to the owners, the carver, the significance, and the date of erection. As the pole, however, looks rather new, it is probable that it had been carved in the 1880's, perhaps late in this decade.

Description, myths: (1) The three "Watchmen" at the top, with their heads surmounted by the segmented (skil) hats, are familiar figures on the totem poles of the Haidas, particularly south of Skidegate; (2) Bear-Mother and her two Cubs, head down, one hanging from her mouth, the second farther down her body; (3) Grizzly-Bear, probably the Bear husband, holding his human wife (Hrpeesunt, in Tsimshyan) between his hands in front of him, and, at her feet, the two Cubs, head down; (4) Raven and his son.

A few versions of the Bear-Mother myth, whole or in summary, are given elsewhere in this book. Here is one of its most elaborate and finest reproductions such as were done, at least in miniature form, by Charles Edensaw of Massett and Skidegate.

The story of the Raven and his son, a part of the Creation myth of the Haidas, was recorded twice by the author at Skidegate in 1939. A brief summary is given somewhere else here, under the heading of Haida Totem Pole at McGill University.

The Raven Totem of Massett, now in Jasper Park (Canadian National Railways).

The information recorded in the files of the Canadian National Railways is that this tall pole (presumably the tallest on the Queen Charlotte Islands — it is from 60 to 70 feet high) was secured for the Company in 1919 by Captain Nicholson, who was Manager for the Canadian National Steamship Service. The pole was erected in Jasper Park in the following year.

In file G.270–298, it is stated that "Dr. Newcombe, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, on whom we depended to give us this legend, has informed us that he is unable to do so because he could not get in touch with any of the Massett Indians. . . This pole is called the Raven Totem."

The figures on the pole, which has been gaudily repainted several times (it was at first unpainted), in so far as the author can interpret them, from the top down, are: (1) the supernatural Raven, with, in front of him between his wings, his Son (the episode of the Raven and his Son is retold in this book); Son holds the mask-like face of his mother, the Raven's sister, upside down; (2) Grizzly-Bear Mother, with one of her two cubs, head down, on her head; the other Cub, in front of her body. With this figure of Bear Mother is combined that of the supernatural Grizzly holding the young Indian woman whom he kidnapped; she hangs, head down, from his mouth; (3) the small bird underneath, with its tail over its head, is
Haida totems. (Left) At the Smithsonian Institution. (Centre) Also at the Smithsonian. (Right) A totem now at the Denver Art Museum, Colorado
the Eagle or perhaps the Thunderbird; (4) the face with two prongs over its nose may be the Bullhead, once associated with the Raven; (5) the large figure below the bird presumably is Frog Woman, the mythical Dzelarhons of the Haidas; six small frogs, head down, decorate her forehead; one more frog hangs from her lips; (6) the smaller human figure in front of Frog Woman may be the old Woman in the same myth, who came down with a cane in her hand from the volcano in eruption (the painting here being particularly misleading, as a moustache has been put on); (7) the bottom figures repeat the theme of Bear Mother, her Grizzly Bear husband, and their two Cubs, one of which is in human form and the other as a small bear.

Who carved the Jasper Pole. The Haida totem pole now standing in Jasper Park was carved by Simeon Stiltæ, a member of the Slinglaanos clan of Yan village, opposite Massett, on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Stiltæ belonged to the Raven phratry. He is believed to have carved other poles now at Ottawa and New York. My informant, Alfred Adams of Massett, who died in 1946, said that he had himself sent one or two short house posts carved by Stiltæ to the American Museum of Natural History. At Yan, added Adams, there was much of Stiltæ’s work, “perhaps most of it.” He was one of the old-time Haidas, a good man and clean-living. He was one of the old chiefs calling for high respect. He lived on to old age. When Archdeacon Collison arrived here, in the early 1880’s, he accepted him, but went on carving just the same. Born in 1876, Adams, then a small boy, remembers him carving large totems and making many masks.

Old Massett formerly was named Place-of-Light-Plentiful (had’aiwes), according to Alfred Adams of Massett (1939).

Situated where the Massett Indian village now stands, it was on the east side of the channel, with Yan on the opposite side. Skyedahlrho was its head chief. Later his rank passed to Chief Weeæ.

Stihltæ’s Pole at Massett, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 131. Plate VIII, figure 2).

The original of Plate VIII, figure 2, was put up for Stihltæ, chief of the Tcaits-Gitans. At the top is carved a humming-bird, one of the distinctive crests of this family; but of the figure at the bottom the carver himself knew nothing more than that it came, like the humming-bird, from the Tsimshian.

The Qingi Poles and Beams of Massett, including the Beaver post, now at the National Museum of Canada, described by J. R. Swanton (97: 135. Plate XII).

The original of the house represented in Plate XII is entirely destroyed. It belonged to a former town chief of Massett, and the pole represents Qingi trying to preserve his townspeople from the flood along the sides of his dance-hat. Part of a memorial column, with the figure of a beaver on it, appears at the left edge of the picture.

Pole of Weeæ’s wife at Massett by J. R. Swanton (97: 131. Figure 1).

The original of Plate VIII, figure 1, was set up for Great-Woman-who-is-talked-about, a woman of the Sand-Town-People and wife of Weeæ, the town chief of Massett, at which place it formerly stood. The figure at the bottom illustrates the cumulus-cloud, usually known as a Cloud-Woman, the small figures around its head.
Haida totem poles at Prince Rupert representing puffs of cloud. At the top is a flicker (sahtieyut). Both were crests used by her family.

**The Pole of Qogis**, Chief of the Point-Town-People close to Massett (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 127, Plate V, figure 1).

The original of Plate V, figure 1, belonged to Qogis, chief of the Point-Town-People, and stood in front of his house, Fort-House, on a hill close to Massett. At the bottom, above the doorway of this house, are a frog and a raven. The frog is introduced along with the raven because ravens were said to eat frogs. All the other figures on this pole illustrate the story of the man who married a grizzly bear. The principal figure of this group, clasping in both hands what looks like a tongue, but was explained as a long labret, and wearing a dance-hat, is the Grizzly-Bear-Woman; below, and held in her embrace, are her two cubs; and still lower down is the full-length figure of another bear, representing her husband. Sitting on top of the dance-hat is still another cub. The carver added, that "hats are always put over a grizzly bear," which probably means nothing more than that it was customary to place them there.

**Pole of Great Breakers**, Chief of Those-Born-At-Rose-Spit, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 124. Plate III, Figure 1).

The original of Plate III, figure 1, belonged to Great-Breakers, chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, who received his name from one of Cape Ball's names. His wife was of the Stastas, and one of her names was Chief-Woman-whose-Voice-is-Sharp. At the top is an eagle sitting upon the head of a beaver. These are the wife's crests. At the bottom a grizzly bear holding her two cubs is rearing in terror at the sight of a frog, of which the Haida supposed grizzly bears to be mortally afraid. The artist has thus introduced a crest and illustrated a story at the same time. Frogs are also said to have been placed upon house poles, sometimes to keep them from falling over.
The Pole of He-whose-voice-is-obeyed of Pebble-Town-People (Haida), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 124. Plate II, Figure 3).

The pole represented by Plate II, figure 3, belonged to He-whose-voice-is-obeyed, chief of the Pebble-Town-People. His wife was Chief-Woman-who-is-the-Daughter-of-Chiefs, of the Pebble-Town-Gitins. At the bottom is a Killer Whale, and above it the moon, both of which were crests belonging to the chief himself. The Raven, which comes next in order, was the wife's crest. Surmounting all is the chief himself, holding a copper under each arm. To put a representation of the house-owner upon his pole was not uncommon, though this is the only model of such a pole that I obtained.

The Pole of Kuiyans (Dressed-up), chief of Sand-Town-People (Haida), according to J. R. Swanton (97: 123. Plate II, figure 2).

The original of Plate II, figure 2, belonged to Dressed-up, Chief of the Sand-Town-People, and all the crests on it belonged to his family. These are, from bottom to top, the Grizzly Bear, the Moon, and two figures intended to represent Mountain-Goats. These were often carved like grizzly bears, with the addition of a pair of horns. In the present instance, the latter appendages may have rotted out of the original post. Surmounting all are two "watchmen." Some families had two of these, and some three. In the myths similar figures are mentioned on the house poles of the supernatural beings, which always gave warning when an enemy approached or anything happened that the owner of the pole ought to know. They are not used as crests.
Ruins of Old Kasaan

Old Kasaan
Old Kasaan

Totems in front of chief Skowl's house
The Kaigani Haidas of Prince of Wales Island, according to A. P. Niblack (78: 385, 386).

The Kaigani are a branch of the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands having, for some cause or other, split off from their brethren and settled across Dixon Entrance on the southern end of Prince of Wales Island and adjacent archipelago. As near as can be figured from the Indian accounts, this must have happened at the least one hundred and fifty years ago. Their three principal villages now are Howkan, Klinquan, and Kasa-an. The Indians are gradually building an American village at the rear of the old-time lodges. Many of the totemic columns have been cut down, and the native characteristics are fast disappearing. It is to be said in favour of the new order of things that Mr. Gould has impressed upon this village the stamp of his own personal qualities of thriftiness, industry, fair dealing, sobriety, and enterprise. Just below Howkan is the village of Koianglas, consisting of three houses and several interesting totemic columns. The population, made up of a few families, will soon be absorbed in that of Howkan. Nearly opposite Koianglas, on Dall Island, and also situated on Kaigani strait is the site of the old-time village of Dat-ghaya. On the southern end of Dall Island, just north of Cape Muzon (the extreme southern point of Alaska) is the small village of Kaigani. The winter residence of the former population is now at Howkan. There are seven or eight houses, which are occupied only at certain seasons of the year, but there are no totemic columns. Klinquan is said to be about half as large as Howkan, but to have retained its native characteristics almost intact. At the southern entrance to Cholmondeley Sound is the site of the abandoned village of Chasina or Chachina. There is only one house there now and the stumps and remains of mortuary columns. Early voyagers describe it as a populous village in the early part of this century. At the head of Kasa-an Bay, at what is called Karbo Bay, is a small village called by some authorities Kasa-an. Kasa-an proper is, however, on Skowl Arm, a branch of the bay. Being somewhat off the steamer route and the missionaries never having settled there, Kasa-an has preserved its native characteristics more markedly than any other village in Alaska.

Totem pole, presumably of chief Skowl
Poles and house posts at Old Kasaan
At Old Kasaan
Origin of the Kaigani Haidas of Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 88).

This brings us to the great migration to Alaska. Statements regarding the location of the several families before they moved and regarding the movement itself are so definite that it can have occurred only in very recent times. The explorer Douglas speaks as if Dadans was a regularly inhabited town at the time of his visit. If it is true, as they now maintain, that Dadans was never regularly occupied after the migration, it is possible the latter did not occur until after white contact. This would be much more recent than the date (about 1720) fixed by Dawson; otherwise I should have said that his estimate was about correct.
Old Kasaan
Old Kasaan
Old Kasaan. White man at the top of the pole to the right represents the figurehead of a ship
Old Kasaan at a later date

Old Kasaan
Old Kasaan. (Inset) Kasaan pole at the Museum of the American Indian, N.Y.
Migrations of the Haidas, according to William Beynon (recorded in 1939).

Cape St. James people (of Anthony Island, at the southernmost point of the Queen Charlotte Islands) within a very few generations migrated north on the western side to Frederick Island (off the west coast of Graham Island). Frederick Island is still worth visiting; Beynon was there in 1927. Remnants of old habitations and house shafts are still to be seen. From Frederick Island the Cape St. James tribesmen proceeded to Prince of Wales Island in southern Alaska and established Hlinkwan, Howkan, and Kasaan. Moving into Tlingit country, they preserved most of the earlier Tlingit names, e.g., Hlinkwan and Howkan.

Beynon was told by James Peel, a Haida of Kasaan (a fact also confirmed by others at Hydeberg), that at a later date a war party of the Tsimsyans invaded the Prince of Wales country of these northern Haidas. This party consisted of twelve large canoeloads of warriors who had journeyed together from their country northwestwards to Cape Chacon at the southernmost tip of the Prince of Wales island. There they camped at Bear's Point (wilakstehl-medeeek: Where-close-to-shore-sits-the-Grizzly). Before parting, they drew V-shaped lines for a plan of campaign. Seven canoes would travel to one side on the left, the other five to the right, the number of paddles being equally divided between both parties. Then they both went on their way. The outcome was not recorded.

Kasaan village with totem poles, on Prince of Wales Island, Southern Alaska, as represented on Plates II and III in "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," by A. P. Niblack, about 1885 (78).

Plate II gives a view of the eastern part (right-hand half) of the village of Kasaan, where lived Chief Skowl (~1887). The two carved columns at the lower right-hand corner are views of two commemorative mortuary columns.

Plate III . . . Graveyard of the village of Kasaan, with carved posts, usually one figure each at the top.

The Totem Poles of Old Kasaan, as they were before their removal, described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 51-53).

A colony of Haidas from Massett on Queen Charlotte's Islands settled near where Old Kasaan now is.

What prompted them was trouble at home. First a few set out, but on account of the rough, wide waters of what we now call "Dixon's Entrance," they were compelled to turn back. But they, as the legend says, "found many friends and secured a big canoe, and in
The old house of Chief Son-i-hat at Old Kasaan
it they worked hard and succeeded in crossing the big water where they found a good place and had peace many days."

This good place was not the present Old Kasaan, but a place not far away. After some years, for a trivial reason, they deserted their first resting place for the present site of old Kasaan. They called it "Beautiful Town." That is what the word Kasaan means.

Of these legendary days there is a story of a man digging clams who was caught there by a large bivalve and held until he was drowned by the incoming tide. This so excited his kinsmen that the family migrated northward to Stikine River and joined their fortunes with the Thlingets, learning their language and becoming virtually a part of the Thlinget people. These immigrants were finally divided into two families, the Kosquidi and Telequidi. The sacred songs of these two clans are in the Haida-Kasaan dialect.

The chief house of old Kasaan is Chief Skowel's. It is one that has two similar totem poles shown in the accompanying illustration on each side of the steps in front of the house. They are surmounted with the figures of the Raven. These are placed high up to show the great dignity of the family. The carved figure below is the Raven. He has the moon in his mouth to commemorate the time he stole the moon from the Creator to give it unto men. Below is the wife of the Raven. He, after he stole the sun and moon, went out to and fro on the earth, teaching men to obey certain customs. He was a great joker, so much so that each Thlinget word that means deceit has it root in their word for the raven . . .

The lowest figure of all is the Whale. This is the Raven's "Jonah" story. One time the Raven jumped into the mouth of the whale. He made it so unpleasant for the whale that the whale was glad to go ashore and die. The Raven, however, still imprisoned in the belly of the Whale, began to sing; and this attracted the attention of some Indian braves who were passing by. Their curiosity was aroused and they began to dig into the sides of the Whale. Out stepped the Raven, and then, as a thank offering for his rescue, he cut up the Whale and divided it among the people, thus making a great feast.

The larger of the two poles was erected in 1872. The totem at the right of the two just described is similar to the one last mentioned and was erected in honour of Chief Skowel's nephew.

At the extreme right of the village is a totem erected by Chief Skowel for his daughter. She married a white man, and so this pole is surmounted by the American eagle.

Behind and a little to the left of Chief Skowel's house is a totem surmounted by the Fog Mother and her two children, and below is her husband, the sun.

To the left of Skowel's house is the house of darkness. Next is Chief Sunny Heart's house. It was he who gave the Memorial totem to Governor Brady to be placed in the park at Sitka.

The totems at the extreme left are grave totems. Those who erected these totems were usually first initiated into the "Dog Eaters" fraternity . . .

Old Kasaan was deserted in the year 1900 for new Kasaan, where the natives have built up a modern and prosperous village.
Old Kasaan
House at Old Kasaan (Kaigani-Haida), as recorded by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 122, 123, with an illustration).

These fine interior house pillars have been restored and incorporated into Haida community house restoration at Kasaan by U.S. Forest Service (Photo by U.S. Forest Service).

(M.B.) Two side posts at the rear show the Duk-toothl, the strong man, tearing up a sea-lion. A taller pole, also at the rear, is surmounted by a bird, possibly the Raven, holding a long quadruped, head down; at the base is the Grizzly Bear. These are fine carvings in the Haida style.

House Posts in Chief Skowl’s house [Haida] at Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island, as shown by A. P. Niblack (78: Plate LXVII).

Chief Skowl died in the winter of 1882-83, and, according to the custom of the region, his body was first displayed in state dressed in the ceremonial robes of a chief. Later it was enclosed in a casket and deposited, as shown, on a pile of boxes containing his clothing and ceremonial dance paraphernalia. The group is at the end of the building, opposite the entrance, between the two carved posts holding the rafters of the house.

(M.B.) The carved figures on both house posts obviously are those of the Raven and his Son; the Son stands between the folded wings of the mythical bird. (See the myth elsewhere.)

Mortuary Columns near Howkan (Haida), Alaska, described by A. P. Niblack (78: Plates LXIX. figures 357, 358, 359).

Figure 358, with the spruce tree growing out of the top, illustrates the decay of these wooden carvings through the encroachment of the vegetation, which flourishes wherever it can get the least foothold.

Number 357 contains two figures. The top seems to be the Raven, head down on the column, flying; its tail is in the form of a human face.

Number 358 is covered with three figures from the top down: presumably the Eagle; a man holding a cane ending with a human face under his feet.

Number 359 — A semi-human figure, or perhaps the Grizzly Bear, with the Bear on its head. This post seems to have stood about twenty feet high.

Number 360 — Mortuary or commemorative column at Fort Tongass, southern Alaska. The Raven rests at the top. Under it is the Killer-Whale, head down; at the bottom, a man. This is a regular totem pole.
(Left) Old Kasaan. (Right) Chief Son-i-hat’s Halibut house at Old Kasaan

Kaigani poles of Prince of Wales Island
Eagle totem of the Haidas on Prince of Wales Island
At Howkan, a Kaigani village of Prince of Wales Island
Totems of Howkan
Howkan house and totems
Old Sukkwan village, Prince of Wales Island
The Old Woman of Saxman
Village of the northern Haidas

Inside pole of Edward Edensaw's house at the Haida village of Kung

Poles at Sukkwan (Kaigani-Haida), recorded by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 60, with illustration).

(M.B.) A tall hexagonal pole in the background representing the Fireweed, a crest familiar elsewhere only on upper Skeena River, where one of the phratries is the Gisraest — Fireweed, and a few totem poles show this wild, flowering plant.

In the foreground, a smaller pole with a man wearing a tall "skil" hat (with six cylinders) holds on with both hands to a spike or a fin on the head of a sea monster, unidentified.

The Old-Witch Pole of Sukkwan (Kaigani-Haida), as recorded by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 152, with an illustration).

The Old Witch totem pole now standing before the Nugget Shop at Juneau is a fine Haida pole from Sukkwan near Hydaburg.

[M.B.] This stately pole was obviously carved by the same craftsman as the Russian priest pole of Chief Skowl now in Ketchikan Park. The style is identical. A small human figure sits at the top, about 40 feet high, with a pile of "skil" cylinders on his head. Under him is an animal with wide mouth (unidentified) holding on to the "skil" cylinders of the figure below. The main emblem in the centre is the mythical Fog Woman holding as usual two salmon in her hands. And, at the bottom, is Bear Mother with her two Cubs, one on her head, the other in front of her body, both with human features.
Totem pole carved by John Wallace, a Kaigani Haida, in 1937

Villages of the northern Haidas or Kaiganis
Totems of the northern Haidas

Kaigani pole from a village on Prince of Wales Island. (Right) Northern Haida pole at the Museum of Modern Art, New York
Pole from Tongas (Alaska) at the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (1893), according to the description published by James Deans (36: 92, 93).

This post is an Alaskan one from Tongas, on the southern boundary of that country. It is about forty-two feet in height. The carvings on it are: (1) the lowest, a bear holding a raven, although it looks more like a fur seal, which I should say it was if the post were a Haida one. (2) Next above is a bear, a frog with a bear's tongue in its mouth, and a hat with eight rings. As for the significance of the carvings on this post, the bear at the bottom was the crest of the people whose house this was. The bear holding the crow or raven would show that the bear holding the raven were foes and that the bear had the best of him, though according to the Haida tribes it would show an old legend about the bear and the fur seals. (3) Next above was the phratry of the man who owned this house. He also was one of the Canhada (Kanhada) gens. (4) Next above is the frog with the bear's tongue in its mouth, which showed the bear and frog to have been friends. This frog I believe is the bear's wife's crest. The highest figure — the head and hat with eight degrees — must have been the husband, because the hat is on a bear's head. This post is badly finished. A Haida carver would never put such a post out of his hands, and if he did he would be laughed at by the rest of the people.

Totems of Tongas before their removal to Ketchikan or Saxman, described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 49, 50).

The Thlinget Indians of Ketchikan were formerly residents of old Port Tongass, which is almost at the southern end of Alaska. At Port Tongass, there are a number of very interesting totems . . . [M. B. There were, before the removal of the totems to Saxman,]
Tongas

The Indians migrated to Port Tongass from Cot Island, which is not far from the present Ketchikan. The central figure of the accompanying illustration is the Grizzly Bear totem. These are very old totems and therefore simple . . .

The totem to the left is that of the Raven, recognized by his long curved bill. The curvature of the Raven's bill, the legend says, was produced at the time he carried his mother up to the sky and held himself up by sticking his bill in until the great sea-gull told him the flood had subsided.

The totem still to the left is surmounted by the Kit or Whale Killer, and the two at the extreme left are surmounted by the Raven.

The two totems at Ketchikan which the ordinary tourist sees are Kyan's totem and Johnson's totem. Kyan's totem is surmounted by the Crane. Below is the Thunderbird and the Grizzly Bear. The pole then read: I belong to the Crane branch of the Raven phratry and am married into the Thunderbird branch of the Bear phratry.

Chief Johnson totem is surmounted by Kajuk, a fabled bird of the mountains. This bird amuses himself by throwing rocks at ground hogs. Those who find one of these are sure to become very rich.

Sometimes this figure has been called the eagle, but even then it must not be confounded with the southern eagle which is the totem of an entirely different family. Kajuk is placed high up to show the dignity of the family.

Below are the two servants of the raven. These are the ones that obtained fire for mortals.

The fire was in the west. These two servants stuck their bills into pitch and flew out to the fire.
Totems at Ketchikan (Tlingit)
Totem of Chief Johnson at Ketchikan
On their return, the fire so heated the bills that under the weight of the burning pitch they bent, and the curve was produced.

Below is the Raven, and still below is the Fog Woman with her children, the salmon.

There is one interesting totem in the Ketchikan cemetery. It was carved by Wm. Dickerson, and its chief carving centres about the part of the legend where he flies up to heaven with his mother and others in his arms.

**Mortuary Column of Chief Kootenah**, carved mortuary or commemorative column (Tlingit) in front of the house of Chief Kootenah at Tongas village, Alaska, *as shown by A. P. Niblack* (78: Plate LV, figure 294).

**Fog Woman and Kadjuk at Ketchikan** of Chief Johnson, as described by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 149-151).

This tall totem pole was set up in 1901 at the place where it now stands in Ketchikan, during a potlatch by Chief Johnson, chief of the Kadjuk groups of Tlingit. It is surmounted by the Kadjuk, a mythological bird . . . This bird amuses itself by dropping stones on unsuspecting groundhogs. If one is lucky enough to acquire one of the stones his prosperity is assured for all time. Because of the extreme high caste of this bird, a great expanse of undecorated pole separates him from the more lowly creatures below. No doubt it also symbolizes the Kadjuk's lofty habitat (in the mountains).

(M.B.) Mr. William Lewis Paul, of Juneau, described this mythical bird, as follows: The Kadjuk at the top of Chief Johnson's pole is a fabulous bird unlike any actual bird, although it has some characteristics of an eagle. He throws stones at groundhogs. If he throws one at you, it is good luck. If you laugh at him, this may bring about your end.

(Mr. Keithahn) The twin bird forms appearing next are Gitsanuk and Gitsaqeq, the slaves of Raven who appears beneath them with spreading wings. Although these slaves are actually ravens, they cannot be identified as such by their beaks, which in this case are hooked. The Raven had previously sent these slaves to get fire for the earth. In carrying the stolen embers in their mouths, heat caused their beaks to melt and bend downward, as seen in this carving.

The large female figure holding two salmon is the Fog Woman who, in this interval of Raven's philandering life, is his wife. This figure may be recognized as female by the large labret worn in the lower lip.

The story recalled on this pole goes back to the days when there was no salmon, and Raven had to make a miserable fare of cod, sculpins, and an occasional halibut. One day Raven, who was encamped at Anan Creek with his two slaves, went out mid-channel to fish. Suddenly a heavy fog settled down and Raven and his companions were lost, for they could not see beyond the bow of their canoe. A beautiful woman appeared in the centre of their canoe. She asked for Raven's spruce-root hat and, upon receiving it, turned it upside down. All the fog poured into it, leaving the sky clear again. Raven ordered his slaves to paddle to his cabin, taking the woman with him, for he had already decided to make her his wife.

One day when Raven was absent from his cabin, Fog Woman sent one of the slaves to get water in Raven's spruce-root hat. When the slave returned with the water, to his surprise a bright fish was swimming in the hat. This was the first salmon, and the woman bade the slave to cook it at once so that they might eat it before her husband returned.
When Raven came home he detected the red meat of the salmon on his slave's teeth and from him learned that Fog Woman had created the salmon. He asked how she did it, and she told Raven to build a large smoke house while she went up the creek to wash her hair. On the fourth day he was to go and look for salmon.

The Raven built the smoke house, and on the fourth day, early in the morning, he found the bay full of salmon. Fog Woman told him to look in the stream. He too found it choked with salmon.

Together they began the labour of catching, drying, smoking, and storing enormous quantities of the fish. Raven began to feel happy in his new wealth. He forgot that his good fortune was due to his wife and began to ignore and abuse her. She could do nothing to please him. In a fit of temper he struck her with a salmon's backbone, and the sharp spines pierced her side. Humiliated she started to run toward the beach. Raven followed, attempting to stop her, but each time he reached for her, she slipped through his fingers like mist and drifted out over the waters, never to return.

Raven tried to reconcile his loss as he was still wealthy, but just then he heard a peculiar noise. Turning around he found that his dried fish had come to life and were streaming down to the water and swimming away. Even the cache containing his boxes of smoked salmon was empty and only tracks leading to the beach showed where his salmon had gone. Raven found himself as poor as before. But salmon had been created and has remained in Alaska to this day.

Some say that Fog Woman's daughters, the Creek Women, live at the head of every stream. It is the joy of a salmon's life to fight its way to the headwaters of the stream for just one look at the Creek Women. All of them die in the attempt save the steelhead who comes back year after year.

**Poles at Tuxecan** (on Prince of Wales Island) in 1887, according to Edward L. Keithahn quoting the "Alaskan" (Sitka), January 15, 1887 (62: 37, 38).

A traveller on the mailboat "Iris" quoted in the Alaskan (Sitka), January 15, 1887, gave a hint of what happened when the first salmon cannery in Alaska was established at Klawock in 1879, and the natives from the surrounding villages flocked there for employment. He wrote: "Leaving Klawock, we returned by the way of Tuksekan, a village of the Hanegahs. It is becoming quite dilapidated and is not much used except as a winter home. It has the largest display of totem sticks of any village I have visited . . ."
Inside Chief Shaiks' house (Tlingit) at Wrangell

WRANGELL

Totem Poles of Wrangell, described by Clarence L. Andrews (1:1).

Nearly fifty years ago I landed at the old trading-post at the mouth of Stikine River. I passed up the wharf. The wolf totem on the parade ground in the stockade of the army barracks grinned at me with fierce fangs. There was a path that followed the curves of the shore and ended at a bridge which led to where the old Hudson's Bay Company fort once stood.

The stubs of the stockade stood in a row just above the tide-line. A barge for the mill was being built at one side. Beyond it were Indian houses. Among the piles of lumber were the totems of Kadashan, incongruous among the surroundings. To the south, along the sand-spit was the house of Chief Shakes whose heraldic crest was Hootz, the great brown bear. Shakes sat at the front of his ancestral home and welcomed me. From the top of a column at one side the family emblem looked down, regretfully.

The Totems of Shaiks, head-chief of the Wrangell Tlingits.

The famous Shaiks totems — the Grizzly Bear and Konakadet — used to stand in front of a low, weather-beaten wooden house, with two doors, side by side, and three windows. Konakadet, sitting on a short pole with the Killer-Whale hat on his head, and the Grizzly Bear, squatting on top of another pole, as late as 1939, were still gazing straight ahead with round eyes, as they had looked upon all comers since the 1860's or thereabouts. Among the oldest totems in existence, they were perhaps the first ever

1 Kadashan's totems are quite old but not the oldest in Wrangell. There is a photograph, taken about 1887, showing them standing in front of the new house being built. They were probably in front of a former house of Tlingit construction, which was removed to make way for a more modern one. The poles are now removed to the hillside.

2 The totems of Shaiks are the oldest remaining poles in Wrangell. An engraving in a report to the Government in 1870, shows them to have been in place in 1869. At the west of the house was another, with three frogs in a row. (Ex. Doc. No. 68, 41st Cong., 1st Sess.) The young Shaiks totem, now spoken of as the Raven Totem, was formerly at the side of the house of George Shaiks on the ridge above the shore. It is said to have been carved by Toyatt, the "last of the Totem Carvers," to record the union of the Kadashan and the Shaiks families. (The Totems of Alaska, Winter and Pond, Juneau, 1909). See also, Corser (28).
The Kayak totem pole of Wrangell
erected in Wrangell, though they now have been scrapped and replaced by new ones. Fireweed and salal plants grew out of their tops, like bouquets on a fashionable head-dress. On the Grizzly-Bear totem were deeply engraved claw marks that the Bear is supposed to have made climbing up the pole.

A third totem, much taller, facing in another direction — toward the sunrise — was carved from top to bottom. At the top, a human being with folded arms wore a high Chinese-like hat with cylinders tapering off; salal bushes trimmed the brim, just over the brow of the contemplative face.

A larger visage underneath on this totem was that of a woman clasping a child to her breast. But the child — I recognized him at once — was no
ordinary infant—Konakadet in person, the spoilt child, the worthless young fellow, the despised son-in-law.

The Bear totem, Konakadet, the man with the Killer-Whale hat, all belonged to Shaiks and his kinsmen. These were their crests—still are in a way. At first, not long ago, they were not all a Tlingit possession, for they were in part captured in war from the Tsimsyans to the south.

A marble monument in the modern style, probably from the hand of Rudge, a white man of Port Simpson, or another stone-carver in Victoria, stood in front of the house to the right. It completed the small group of monuments commemorating a former age on Shaiks Island; for totem poles, like epitaphs in graveyards, were memorials erected to a leader after his death, when his successor was raised to his place and adopted his name.

The practice of erecting such memorials tended to establish a dynastic-like series of chiefs such as Shaiks I, II, III; they were referred to in this way so as to keep separate their distinct personalities under the same name. The inscription on the marble here, surmounted by a bird, told a lurid tale, forecasting the downfall of a line of warlike chiefs whose deeds were often extolled all over the land.

_in memory of / Moses Shaiks / Son of / Chief Shaiks / Aged 23 years / was murdered here 12 or / 13 day of May 1911 / A Christian, a chief / decided to be silent / And no go on warpath / I live to prove / the Guilty party._

The chief’s house has since been taken over by the Forest Department and refashioned with brand new materials. The lovely growth of huckleberry bushes on the totems has been scraped off, and the haunting spirit of the place has not withstood the good intentions of its renovators. Like the late Walter E. Walker, who felt their spirit as well as anyone in Wrangell, I deeply regretted their passing when I returned to the

A Strong-Man or Konakadet totem, as it formerly stood at Wrangell
The Konakadet pole at the Alaska Historical Library and Museum at Juneau
same spot in 1947, though the efforts of the U.S. Forest Service have been praiseworthy and the restorations remarkable.

Some features on Shaiks Island had undergone changes in the past 60 years, but there was a way to determine their extent, thanks to last-century numbers of New York magazines in the possession of Mr. Walter C. Waters.

In *Harpers Weekly*, October 4, 1879, appeared a picture of “East port, Stickeen village, Fort Wrangell,” showing several communal houses at the back of the bay, and totem poles with only one or two figures at the top of each: on one, a man and a Killer-Whale [the same as to-day]; on another, a man with an eagle. An illustration of “The Indian burial ground at Fort Wrangell,” contains three very small houses for the souls of the dead, a totem either carved or painted on their front.

A description of the island in an earlier *Harpers Weekly*, dated February 19, 1870, is far more explicit. Illustrations by Vincent Colyer show a United States Military Post in the bay three years after the American purchase of Alaska from Russia.
The totem of Kilteen at Wrangell
In front of Shaiks’ house, at that date, stood the Grizzly-Bear post with climbing footprints up its shaft. Beside it was Konakadet with a large head-gear on a short pyramid-like base; this was apparently different from the other famous pole in the pair known to us. A third totem was in the centre, quite short, leaning sideways.

The house then had corner posts at the front, and a painted design too vague to decipher. It looked like a huge fish, presumably the Killer-Whale, and extended the whole width of the front. The ceremonial entrance was round and high above the ground, in the archaic Indian style. A small grave-house with hipped gable and a peculiar gibbet-like summit stood forward beside a perch placed on short posts supporting four squatting frog-like animals.

The Indian village of Wrangell, in the same illustration, consisted of seven community houses, two of them with totem poles. These poles were plain shafts with birds on top and ordinary front doors in the centre; only one house had an elevated oval door. Two small chapels, behind the row of houses, were surmounted by wooden crosses.

The number of totems at Wrangell, though never considerable, increased slightly in the next twenty-one years. In *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of June 20, 1891, another illustration brought out more totems. These were the Grizzly Bear and, next, the Man with Killer-Whale hat, just as they both were in 1939. An additional carving decorated an upright shaft, in 1890, and a composite totem, no longer there, formed the left rear corner of the chief’s house. On the front and over the doorway of Chief Jukes' house, farther away, stood the Thunderbird with outspread wings.

The large Killer-Whale, with perforated dorsal fin, rested on a grave, and the Wolf, whose head was raised and mouth gaping, squatted on a raised platform. Another heraldic pole, the Kadashan or Raven totem — recently removed to the main street in Wrangell and gaudily repainted — contained, from the bottom upwards, a human figure, the Raven, a man holding a copper shield, and the Eagle at the top.

The striking Thunderbird decorating the front of a “Community House” in the same illustration of 1891, presumably furnished the pattern for the later well-known Thunderbirds of Alert Bay. This concept is said to have been brought, about 1895, to Fort Rupert, a Kwakiutl village on northern Vancouver Island, by a family of Tongas Tlingits transferred south by the Hudson’s Bay Company. It is still well represented among the Kwakiutl.

These totem poles and two or three others, among them the “Keets” or Whale, were the only ones ever carved at Wrangell, and those of chief Shaiks are known to be the oldest. Toyatl was the maker of the newer and fairly tall Kadashan pole or the totem of “Young Shakes,” which commemorates “the union of Kadashan and the Shaiks’ families,” a union brought about by the approaching downfall of both.1

These details about the Wrangell totems contradict the prevailing misconception that totem poles on the north Pacific Coast are very ancient and go back to prehistory. Of all the pioneers in this unique form of heraldic art, Chief Shaiks of Wrangell was foremost. He would stand in the shadow

of no other man under the sun and would overlook no chance of gaining prestige in the eyes of his fellow tribesmen. As he yielded to the appeal of these totems only after 1860, and as he had to capture his first crests — the Grizzly Bear and the Killer-Whale — from the Tsimsyans to the south, we are justified in surmising that nowhere else in Alaska had totem poles become an outstanding feature of native distinction and success. Konakadet was still in the making.

**The Wolf Totem of 1869**, a painted house front at Wrangell, shown by Clarence L. Andrews (1: 1).

Illustrations:
1. Land Otter totem gravestone (a white man's carving on a marble slab, in the graveyard).
2. Wolf totem and “Keet” or Whale totem (p. 1). The Wolf squats, howling, on a pile of logs arranged as a square platform with dovetailed corners. The Killer-Whale lies on the ground to the right side of the Wolf.
3. House and totems of Chief Shakes, 1869. The totem of the Three Frogs (p. 2).
4. Shakes canoe, Brown Bear, Bear totem figurehead (p. 3).
5. Keet or Whale-Killer totems, (2) on short posts at the front corners of a grave (p. 10).
6. House of widow of Skillat, a Wrangell Chief, 1869 (p. 13). (The house-front painting cannot be interpreted.)
7. Interior of Indian house, Wrangell, 1869 (p. 14).
8. Old Chief Shakes lying in state (p. 17).

**The Wolf Totem** of the Tlingits of Wrangell, Alaska, described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 17).

The Wolf people were the northern ancestors of the Tlingit people. Possibly they migrated from the interior, coming down Taku River. The legend tells of the time when all were dead but a mother and daughter. The fire-drill spirit caused a son to be born to the daughter. The son was bathed in a magic spring, which caused it to grow up quickly.

As a youth he went out among the wolves and was recognized by them as a brother. He was friendly to the northern eagle, Ka-juk Tschalk. He ordered that men should not eat these birds.

This totem is at the foot of the eagle totem at Wrangell. The eagle clan charged that the Wolf people (Kag-wan-tans) owed them a debt and would not pay, so the Eagle people carved a totem of the Wolf and placed it down very low, because they would not pay their debts.

**The Pole of Katishan** at Wrangell, Alaska, as described by Dr. J. R. Swanton in “The Tlingit Indians” (119: 110, 434).

The larger pole in Figure 110 was put up at Wrangell by Katishan’s brother. At the top of this is Nascakiyaihl (Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass-river), the highest being in Tlingit mythology, with Raven (Ya’il) on his breast. Below is another being, Tlakitcina, wearing a hat and the red snapper coat with which he used to murder his children; underneath the Frog, emblem of the Kiksadi, and at the bottom the Thunderbird (Rhair).

**The Kadashan Totem Poles** of Wrangell, Alaska, described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 35).

These poles are very old. The time of their erection dates back to soon after the days of the Russian occupation, that is, after 1866. The right-hand one is surmounted by the figure of a man. This represents the Creator. In all the older poles, he is represented as a man, whereas in the modern, he is represented as a Raven.
Below is the carving of a Raven with a man between its wings. This is the grandson that made man.

Below is La-kig-i-na, the father of Kayak. Kadashan describes him as "all same devil." His career and character are described in the Kayak legend. He wore a coat made from the skin of a red codfish. The fins were so placed that they ran up and down his breast, making a saw. When he killed people he would rip them open by means of this saw.

Below him is the spirit of La-kig-i-na. The lowest figure of all is the Thunderbird. He lives on mountains, has a lake on his back, and when he gets uneasy he spills some of the water and this causes rain. Kadashan declares that the Thunderbird has been seen by men and gives instances.

The left-hand totem is surmounted by the Eagle, the crest of the Kad-a-shan family. This is the Eagle of the Tsimshians, and not the one belonging to the tribe that formerly centered around Taku River, and has the Wolf as the coat of arms of its phratry.

Below is the Konakadet. Below this is the Crane, and the lowest figure of all is the Konakadet, put in to make the hole higher.

The Koodashan of the Tarqueneedy, according to H. P. Corser (28: 20).

The Land Otter Woman totem of the Tarquaneedy tribe of the Tlingit Indians: Five Indian boys left Warm Chuck village in a canoe; a storm capsized the canoe; the boys were almost drowned, the Koos-da-Shan appeared and called upon the Koos-ta (Land Otter) to save them. They were taken away. The Indian doctor made medicine and called in the Spirits and found out where they were. The Indians set fire to the Land Otter dens on the Islands and killed many of them including the five boys.

The Koos-da-Shan came and saved the rest of the Land Otters, and war was declared upon the Indians; at night the Land Otters approached the village, dancing, singing, and going through motions and making signs. The Indians became sleepy and upon waking up, found they had lost their names and did not know each other. The Koos-da-Shan appeared again, and many got sick and died. The Koos-da-Shan was a woman with a Land Otter on her breast, just as it is carved on the Koos-da-Shan totem.

(M.B.) This totem pole, about 18 feet high, stands in front of the Bear Totem Store at Wrangell. Quite old, it has been repainted. At first, only the Frogs, the eyes, and eyebrows were painted in green and black. Although there is no acknowledged link here between this myth and that of Dzelarhons, the Frog and Volcano Woman of the Salmon-Eater tradition, it is obvious that the Koosdashan is derived from the others, whose development and diffusion indicate greater age.
Kadashan and Goonyah Poles, according to H. P. Corser (28: 32).

A young man was out hunting, and in the woods he came across a beautiful girl with whom he fell in love. The two were married, and he went to live with his wife's parents. He discovered, as he hunted for them and brought home game, that they would not eat it. He asked her why this was. For a long time she would not tell him. One day he was out hunting, and in putting down his spear to leap across a stream he noticed that he struck something soft, but he paid little attention to it. He came home and stood his spear by the side of the wall. His wife's parents soon came in, and they said "We smell frogs. I wish we had some." He said to his wife: "What do they mean?" She replied: "Our people belong to the crane people, and they specially like frogs. They think they smell the blood of a frog on your spear." The young man remembered the place where he had leaped across the stream, and he concluded that he must have struck his spear into a gigantic frog. He went out, determined to get it. He came to the place and began to dig. He worked until the frog was dug out. He took it home and presented it to his wife's parents. They were very glad when they received it, and immediately made preparations to give a great feast. A great number of guests were invited, and the parents received a great name in consequence of this. They, in their gratitude, gave him, in return, shoes made out of grindstone rock. With these shoes he could outrun the fastest game. When a monster pursued him he could throw them at it, and they would become high mountains to protect him from it. This hunter became a great man among his people.

The event is commemorated by the third figure from the top on the smaller of the Kadashan totems, and on the second figure from the top of the Goonyah totem now on exhibition by the side of Mathewson's store at Wrangell.

There is perhaps a still more primitive crane legend.

The mother of the young Raven Hi-yi-shoun-agu was much persecuted by her brothers. In her despair, she went to the crane for advice. He told her to swallow four small stones, and she would have a child that would defend her and do wonderful things for the world. She did so, and the young Raven was born.

Grave Posts. Tlingit totem poles, here called grave posts, of Wrangell are shown by J. R. Swanton (119: Figures 110, 111, on pp. 432, 433).

Grave Post of Tcukanedi, as described by Dr. J. R. Swanton (119: figure 109, 432).

Figure 109 has the body placed in a hole in the back. It was erected for a Tcukanedi chief called Daxhugyet ("Outside Dry," referring to the fact that the porpoise is dry on the outside almost immediately after coming out of the water), and the figures are as follows: The main figure represents Cukaneyi ("Mountain Dweller"), a mythological being supposed to live in the mountains, who was a great hunter and was himself a Tcukanedi. Above him is his dog, and at the top an eagle. In Krause's Die Tlinkit Indianer, page 132, is a copy of the original of this figure, from which it appears that the maker of the model has omitted one of Mountain Dweller's dogs and another small figure. Krause appears to be in error in calling the uppermost figure a hawk and the small figure above Mountain Dweller a seal.

Grave Post Stuwuqa, as described by Dr. J. R. Swanton in "The Tlingit Indians" (119: figure 108, p.431).

Figure 108 illustrates a grave post with box placed on top. It was erected at Kaqanuwu for one of the Kagwantan called Stuwaqua ("Wants-to-be-higher-than-other-animals," referring to the wolf), who died by violence. The box itself has a figure of the Gonaqadet's face painted on both sides, this being a Kagwantan emblem, and on the top of the lid, now unfortunately missing, was a figure of the dead man's head. This was painted half black and half red. The hole cut through the pole below represents that by which the highest heaven is reached, the human figure, the being supposed to keep watch of it, and the faces on each side of the hole, grizzly bears which infest the spirit road.

Grave of Shustocks, on Shustocks Point, opposite the village of Wrangell, Alaska, as described by A. P. Niblack (78: Plate LXV, figure 347).

The adjacent pole contains two carved human figures at the bottom and a black bear at the top.
Graves at the Bear Totem Store, as described by H. P. Corser (28: 45, 46).

These totems were formerly grave totems, used for the same purpose as the white man uses marble tombstones.

The first one is the “Koosh-ta-shan.” This has about the same significance as the Koosh-ta-ka, except a woman takes the place of the Koosh-ta-ka. Next follows the man with the very high hat. There was once a grizzly bear that took the form of a man. This totem shows how he looked. There is a tall post with the Frog on top, a marking for the Kicksett family. The one at the other end is known as the Raven-Bullhead totem. The story is that the raven was out walking one day, and seeing a bullhead, he tried to get it to do certain things. The fish refused and the Raven threw it down in great disgust and exclaimed, “Always be a bullhead.” This illustrates a trait of the Raven, which one might suspect from what has gone on before. He was a great joker and trickster.

The central totem is the Kit or the Whale-killer. This was much prized as a coat of arms, because the comparatively small whale-killer or black fish is able to attack and kill as large an animal as a whale. This coat of arms was supposed to give strength to the one who has a right to use it. On either side of the Kit totem are the Grizzly Bears. Most of these totems, when brought to Wrangell, were approaching the last stages of decay. They have been saved by liberal use of cement and paint.

Dancing Cane, as described by Dr. J. R. Swanton (119: Figure 110, p. 432).

The smaller post in this figure was copied from a dancing cane, which came from the Haida, and is very highly valued. From above down, the figures are: eagle holding two coppers, Konaqadel holding a copper, frog, sand-hill crane (duhl), frog, Konaqadel.

The Kasgaquedi had the green paint hat, which was made with two tops side by side, the Nascakiyaihl pole which they first carved, and an eagle cane obtained from Edensaw’s people at Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands.

The Kayak Totem Pole, according to H. P. Corser (28: 29, 30).

The legend of Kayak is preserved in only two totems in Alaska. One totem is standing in old Wrangell, a site 20 miles south of the present Wrangell. There is a fisherman with a coat having two heads and carrying a string of salmon. The other totem is in the present Wrangell cemetery. This is a copy of the one at old Wrangell, except there is one head on the coat instead of two.

Kayak, when he became of age, slew his father because his father had killed so many of his brothers. After this, Kayak, at the instigation of his sister, slew a monster that was troubling Sitka Bay. This, however, disturbed some strange force. An Indian doctor came to Kayak and revealed to him that he would die, should his sister ever look upon him. So, after that, when his sister travelled with the two boys, she wore a bonnet so that she could not look up. After a long time the sister, forgetting, did look at them and the two boys were turned into stone. This established the rule among the Tlingits that it was a great breach of etiquette for a woman to even look at men of the same family. This rule was so rigidly adhered to that it was significant when a woman did not look at a certain man that they were of the same family.

Kayak’s father had had a charmed halibut hook and he heard of a fisherman up Yak-u-tat way who had a charmed salmon spear, and he wanted it. So he and his brother went to Yak-u-tat. By the help of certain spirits they rendered themselves invisible. They saw the fisherman who was something like an eagle, except that he only had one leg. He came down to the water’s edge and with his charmed spear secured the salmon, and then would sail up a creek to the cave of a grizzly bear.

The coat that the fisherman wore had on it two bear heads, and when he came to the cave one of these heads pulled off a salmon from the string of salmon that the fisherman carried and threw it to the male grizzly, and the other head pulled off a salmon and threw it at the female grizzly; and so on until all the salmon was given to the bears. The one-legged fisherman was married to the daughter of the grizzly bear. The next day Kayak secured a fine silver salmon and, having clothed himself in the skin of the monster, took to the water.
When the fisherman threw his spear, Kayak grabbed it and cut the string and so secured the spear. The fisherman looked for the spear that day but could not find it. The next day he came to look again, and this time the wind was such that he smelled Kayak hidden in a tree. He cried out to Kayak: “Come on down, or I will kill you. I want my salmon spear.” Kayak then came down and he and the fisherman fought. Kayak prevailed, and the fisherman was slain.

Kayak then disguised himself in the skin of the fisherman, caught a string of fish and went up stream to feed the grizzly bear. The she-bear suspected that Kayak was not the real fisherman and fell on him, but Kayak was too strong. He slew the bear family and went out for more adventures.

One day he chased the game so vigorously that he overpowered the force of gravity and ran up into the sky. He would have remained there had not an Indian doctor, who with the help of the spirit of two or three birds, gone up and brought him down. There are certain fleecy clouds that are called the tracks of Kayak, even to this day. To commemorate this event, the family claiming Kayak as its hero has a carved image of a bird on one of its dancing hats.

Kayak next appears at Icy Bay. There was a monster there that he wanted to kill. At the head of the bay, on an island, there was an old house and in the house lived a little woman who he called “Little Old Woman Who Knows Everything.” Kayak approached her and said: “Little Old Woman Who Knows Everything. I want your canoe; I wish to go out and kill a monster that is back of your house.” The little old woman replied: “My son, the canoe is back of the house. Go and get it.” Kayak went back of the house and found there what appeared to be an old, rotten canoe, all covered with moss and good for nothing. He picked up the canoe and immediately it became a beautifully carved piece of work. When he and his brother put it into the water, the canoe outran and overtook the swiftest arrow that they could shoot. Kayak then secured the sinew of a bird and with it snared the monster.

The event is commemorated in the lower part of the Beaver totem at Wrangell, Alaska.

The Beaver of Kilisnu and Kicksetti Totem Myth, as recorded by H. P. Corser (28: 25, 26).

The Kicksetti people (Tlingit) derived their name from Kicks Bay, where they first stopped in their migrations north from the mouth of Nass River to Stikine River.

The pole is surmounted by a face which represents a mountain. This mountain was the camping place on Stikine River to which the legends of the tribe refer.

Below is the Frog, the emblem of the tribe. One of the chiefs did some mischief to the Frog. In consequence, he appears to have fallen into a trance. When he came out of his trance he said that he had been in the underworld and had been taught by the frogs to treat them better, because they were brothers.

Below is the Raven, the Creator, talking to the young Raven that made man. The lowest figure of all is the Killisnoo beaver. The father belonged to the beaver family, and the mother belonged to the frog family.

The Myth of the Beaver. A great chief kept a very intelligent beaver as a pet. He paid so much attention to it that the rest of the tribe became very jealous of it, and they teased it most unmercifully. The beaver appealed to the chief for protection, but he refused to grant it. This enraged the beaver, who went out into the pool of water and began to dig under the village. While he was doing this he was a giant, but, outside, he was nothing but a beaver.

One day he went out into the woods and made a salmon spear. The beaver is usually represented on totem poles as having the spear in his hand and with the spear showing the mark of his teeth where he had been gnawing. The beaver took the spear and hid it in the hollow of a tree standing nearby. Some hunters shortly after discovered the shavings made by the beaver as he gnawed away on the salmon spear, and traced them to the hollow tree, and there, of course, they discovered the spear.

The spear was in such an unusual place that the hunters, judging that there was something uncanny about it, brought it to the house of the chief. The people were much excited by the finding of the spear, and they all thronged to the chief’s house, curious to find out about it.
The chief in turn asked each of his tribesmen whether he had made the spear, and one after another replied that he had not.

The beaver kept saying, "I made it," and at this all the tribesmen began to hiss and laugh. The chief even lost his patience and chided the beaver for saying such a foolish thing, and said to the beaver, "You lie when you say you made that spear." At this the beaver said, "I will prove it to you that I am strong enough to handle it," and then he took the spear and thrust it at the chief. It entered his breast and killed him. Then quickly the beaver thrust it at others who were trying to prevent his escape and killed them and rushed out into the pool, where he was accustomed to live. He went into the chambers he had made under the village. He pulled out the part of the foundation that was still left, and the village fell. As a consequence, the survivors took the Beaver as their totem.

**Beaver, Duktut, and Kayak Pole,** described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 53).

The totem is surmounted with the Beaver. This is the story of the beaver and the porcupine referred to in the chapter on the intellectual life of the Thlingets.

Below is the man who fought with the devil fish. This is a legend from the west coast of Prince of Wales Island. It tells of a house that was pulled into the water and how the owners devoted themselves to death, jumping into the mouth of the devil fish and killed it.

Below is Duktut rending the sea-lions. The lower figure represents Kayak snaring a sea-monster with the sinew of a bird.

This is a modern pole.

(M.B.) This totem pole, about 40 feet high, formerly standing in front of the Flying-Raven-House in Wrangell, was cut into three sections and sent to the museum at Juneau for safe-keeping. There the author photographed it as it stands at the entrance to the Exhibition Hall.

**The Totem of Kolteen,** Kiksadi chief in Wrangell, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 23).

The so-called Kiksadi pole, one of the most popular in Alaska, was set up in Wrangell in 1900 or 1901 before the Sun House. In the record of the probate proceedings in the estate of "Caltine" (Kolteen), the widow waived her rights to the house "in consideration of certain debts having been assumed by Willis Hoagland, the lineal chieftain, and the further consideration of having a totem erected to the honor of my husband and his gens..." This agreement was signed February 11th, 1895, and the totem was raised some years later.

(M.B.) The emblems on the pole, which is about 30 feet high, are (from the top down): (1) Person of the Glacier — with a high cap; (2) Frog, head down; (3) Raven, with the smaller Raven, upside down, at its feet; this may be another impersonation of the Raven; (4) Sitting-Beaver chewing a poplar stick, a frog hanging from the Beaver’s neck.

**The New Tagcook Pole,** recorded by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 90, with illustration).

Tagcook's totem pole (left), 65 feet high, was carved for a Wrangell businessman by Charlie Tagcook, professional Chilkat totem carver, and dedicated in the Wrangell Potlatch of 1940. It tells two Raven stories — how Raven got the light and the "Jonah" story. Bottom figure is Goo-teekhl, the cannibal giant, and the small white face on his chest is Mosquito. They recall the famous Chilkat story on the origin of Mosquito. The Wrangell Raven, or Chief Shakes pole (right), was written about in The Sitka Alaskan in 1896 by Dr. Thwing, missionary: "This winter there has been a very general feeling of suspense and expectancy in view of the great feast and intertribal dance for which Chief Shakes has been preparing for a year or two. To dignify a living son and commemorate one dead, there has been a new totem pole carved, and the Tongass natives have been called to dance and feast here. These guests arrived February 1 and were received with great honour and much noise."
Kadishan totems at Wrangell. (Centre) Wrangell totem
The Raven at Wrangell

Graveyard figures at Wrangell
The One-legged-Fisherman and his strings of salmon, as seen in 1879 by John Muir at Old Wrangell
The Devil's Thumb totem pole on Shustak's Point, as recorded by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 42, 43, with an illustration).

The Devil's Thumb is a holy mountain to the Talquedi people (Tlingit), for it was on it that they found refuge during the flood. The carving represents the personified mountain. (Photo by U.S. Forest Service.)

The Goonya Totem, now at Wrangell, formerly of Prince of Wales Island, according to H. P. Corser (28: 45, 46).

The first [totem pole] that the tourist sees on leaving the dock is the Goonya totem. It was carved about 25 years ago by Chief Goonya, but he decided not to erect it in the old custom way and sold it to a merchant in Wrangell [Walter E. Waters]. It is surmounted by the Raven with the moon in his mouth, which he stole from the Creator to give to mortals. Below is the Crane piercing a frog, in the crane legend. Below is the Beaver making the "Dena" salmon spear. Below is the Grizzly Bear, which has largely replaced the Wolf as the totem of the Wolf branch of the Tlingits. At the bottom is the Owl. A woman was noted for being very selfish, and she was called by the owl, which made her great promises. She kept following the call and finally disappeared in the forest. This was not credible, but it was an instance of a member of the family coming in contact with the spirits, and so it was added to the totem [pole] of the family.

NORTHERN TLINGITS

The Totem Poles at Sitka, as described by H. P. Corser (28:68).

(M.B.) The totem poles at Sitka have all been transplanted there from other parts in southern Alaska in fairly recent years.

(H. P. Corser) The most famous of all is the Sitka memorial totem. It was donated by Chief "Sunny Heart." It is surmounted by "Fog Woman with her children." The Fog comes up from the south in the spring time, and the salmon and all vegetation are among her children.

Below the Fog is the Wolf. It is a wolf giving a feast and inviting Kajuk Tshalk the eagle (the northern) and the bear. It is a memorial of a great potlatch feast, when all these families were present.
Totems of Cat Island, Tongas

Tlingit totems at Tuxecan
The little totem to the left is a house totem of the Beaver family. It once formed one of the pillars of a house.

On entering Indian River Park the first sight to greet you is a totem pole. This pole is surmounted by the figure of a man holding up a chief’s hat. Some have interpreted this, as there is the same carving on other poles, as a slave holding up the hat. The more rational explanation appears to be that it was first intended as a carving to represent the Tyhee in whose honour the totem was first erected and then was afterwards copied by other carvers without any thought of its real meaning. Below is the Bear, and farther down is the Bear holding the Earth Worm.

The legend of the Earth Worm plays an important place in the mythology of the clans around Haines mission. It appears that one of the imprisoned Indian girls went insane and picked up an earthworm and took care of it as if it were a human child. Her family felt disgraced and moved to Haines on Lynn Canal and established a home there. It was evident that a member of the family had come in contact with the spirits. So the family took the Earth Worm as a totem. There is a large carving of the Earth Worm in the Whale house at Haines mission.

Mountain-House of the Ravens in the Hlukahade Clan, at Klukwan Village on the Chilkat River, as described by Mrs. Lewis Shotridge (89:79, 80, 84).

I [Mrs. Shotridge is writing] have often heard my father say with pride that his house totems were painted by Shkecleka. Shkecleka was of the nobility of the Raven side, and besides being the most famous chief of the Ravens was a clever artist as well. These house totems are very old, having been erected by my father’s ancestors. They were repainted by Shkecleka when my father was a boy. I can remember the rebuilding of the house, or rather some incidents connected with it, although I was then but a small child. What impressed me most was the mountain of steps at the entrance.

House Posts of the Wolf House at Sitka. The Wolf House (Gootchhit) at the Alaska Historical Library and Museum, Juneau, Alaska, as seen by the author in 1947.

Interior house posts, about 10 feet tall. The motif is the “Multiplying Wolf.” Date circa 1904, when a number of Tlingit poles were taken to the St. Louis Fair.


Kake is a [Tlingit] settlement of two or three dozen houses... The houses are deserted at this time of the year, the Indians being away fishing,
all but an aged medicine-man and his wife, and a widow with her children.

A totem stands in a corner of the churchyard, and three others in a row at the end of the village. One of the largest stands in front of a house and commemorates the [deeds of] strength of an ancient hunter who could seize and tear to pieces a brown bear. The carving shows him tearing apart the hind flippers of a sea-lion...
Kake, Alaska
Only one totem pole has been erected in the last seven years. The erection of a totem pole is always attended by a great potlatch or feast. Many presents are given away by the one responsible for it.

**The Sitka Totems** described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 48).

The Sitka totems are all Haida. They have been donated by different Haida chiefs to the Sitka museum. The most famous of all is the Sitka memorial totem. It was donated by Chief "Sunny Heart."

It is surmounted by the "Fog woman with her children." The Fog comes up from the south in the springtime, and the salmon and all vegetation are among her children.

Below the Fog is the Wolf. It is a wolf that is giving a feast and inviting Kajuk Tshalk the eagle (the northern) and the bear to a great feast. It is memorial of a great potlatch feast when all these families were present.

The little totem to the left is a house totem of the Beaver family. It one time formed one of the pillars of a house.

The other totems of Sitka are of far less importance.

"A" is surmounted by a Russian trader who gambled with the chief on a checkerboard seen at the bottom of the pole, then ran away with the chief's daughter. The pole was erected to show that whoever came that way would be killed.

"B" is surmounted with the young Raven and Creator as in the Kadashan pole.

"C" has a slave carrying a chief's hat. Below a wolf is married to a member of the red salmon family.

"D" has many of the figures of the Memorial totem.

"E" is surmounted by the crow. Below is the crane hero piercing a frog. Below that is the Raven leaping into the mouth of the Whale. The lowest of all is the Thunderbird.

A branch of the Kicksetti people at Sitka have a very interesting legend of a Ka-Kachgook, a chief with two or three helpers being carried far out to sea. It tells how they drifted to an island, where they killed many seal, and how, after many months, long after they were supposed to be dead, the chief returned, bringing wonderful fur robes with him. This legend must have foundation in fact, and this chief was no doubt the first to find Pribiloff Islands which have yielded such great fortunes in fur.
Tlingit House Posts,  
carved and reproduced by  
Aurel Krause (65).

(Page 127) Two house posts,  
on either side of the Cannibal  
Giant at Klukwan; one holding  
the dead child; the other with  
the woman in front of him.  
[M.B.—In Klini’s Fog House.]

(Page 129) The Killer-  
Whale house post at Klukwan;  
the Whale here being shown  
under human form, crouching,  
with a copper shield on his back.  
[M.B.—Known as part of the  
Duklowede poles in the keeping  
of Dan Katsik.]

(Page 130) Two house posts  
on either side of the door, at  
Klukwan, showing two different  
human beings, each standing on  
a human head.

(Page 131) A flat board for  
wall decoration, carved in low  
relief, at Klukwan.

(Page 132) A totem pole,  
front and side views, at Huna  
village, showing the Raven and  
his son, the name of the bird  
given is Ki-dschuk (Eagle);  
under, a small animal—ssach;  
at the base of the pole, a  
mythical human being, scha-  
ka-nari, in front of whom Ketl,  
a dog, stands upright.

(Page 229) Graveyard  
totems at Huna, small houses  
for the souls; one, with house-  
front painting. A short totem  
stands by itself, with a person  
sitting on a cross-board, with a  
conical hat on, three cylinders  
surmounting the hat.

(Page 230) In the village of  
Klukwan, a large human being,  
carved out of wood, stands in  
front of a hut.
Bella Coola village of Kemsquit
Bella Coola village of Komkotes
BELLA COOLAS

House Portal at the Old Pagan Village, now at the National Museum of Canada. Collected by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, in 1910 (No. VII. D. 18).

This pole, as can be seen in two photographs taken after the village had been abandoned and before the pole was removed, stands about 25 feet high and is about a yard wide. Its broad opening at the base served as an entrance to an old potlatch house. The figures, in so far as the author can interpret them, were non-totemic and probably were not emblematic in the same sense as such figures would be farther north. They are (from the top down): (1) Qomoqoa, a mighty spirit of the sea, ruler of the whales and the seals. Once he may have carried an ancestor of the owner to his undersea home and conferred supernatural powers upon him and the right to use him as an emblem. The same mythical being may be the Whale-Person (trakkawi) of the Gitrhawn or Salmon-Eater of the Tsimsyans to the north. Over the Qomoqoa’s large head are (2) two small Snake-like figures, presumably the Caterpillar or the Woodworm of the Tsimsyans and the Tlingits; (3) a small human-like face, the identity of which is doubtful; perhaps a person being carried by the mythical Eagle on his back, as happened in the myth of the
Eagle; (4) Thunderbird or the Eagle with spread wings; (5) Eagle or Thunderbird holding the Sun, with a human face inside, in his talons; (6) Grizzly Bear at the bottom; over the Bear's ears, on one side, the Raven; on the other, the Whale.

This pole was painted all over, with yellow and white the predominant colours.

**House Frontal Pole of Tallio (Taliho),** South Bentinck Arm, now at the National Museum of Canada, collected in 1923 by Harlan I. Smith (VII D 400). The photograph here reproduced was taken by Mr. Smith in 1920, before the pole was removed.

The figures on the pole, which is about 25 feet high, are, from the top down, and in so far as they can be interpreted without the aid of the contemporary natives: (1) Eagle or Thunderbird with the Sun; (2) Cannibal Giant or Glass-Nose or Sharp-Nose of the north, whose ashes, when he was burned to cinders, changed into mosquitoes; (3) Beaver, showing his incisors, here a small figure under that of the Giant; (4) large unidentified face of a monster, perhaps a bird, as the wing feathers on both sides indicate; (5) large face with Glass- or Sharp-Nose, and open mouth serving as a ceremonial doorway to the house. This is again the Cannibal Giant of the north.


A doorway from a house at Bella Coola in the interior of British Columbia. It is a Bear and was the crest of the people who lived in the house. The next carving also was the doorway of a house at Bella Bella. The paintings are as follows: Upper part, the Raven; next, the spirit of the sea. This forms the doorway.

**Two House Frontals at Tallio,** South Bentinck Arm, according to W. A. Newcombe. (Provincial Museum Report, B.C., 1930: "British Columbia Totem Poles," C 10, Plate IX, Figure I.)

Two house frontal poles will be noticed with the high arch at their base, which served as the main entrance to the house. The pole on the right is now P.M. No. 2308. I have only records of similar poles from Bella Coola Salish and the Northern Kwakiutl villages of Bella Bella and Owikeno. The houses on posts should also be noted. The first reference we have to this
Bella Coola pole and house at Komkotes
The house of old Cleleman in Bella Coola
Pole from Tallio in Thunderbird Park, Victoria
village with houses on "stilts" was made by Lieutenant Johnstone, in command of one of Captain Vancouver's boat parties, in 1793. This form of building was often resorted to in the area where houses were built on river estuaries, as these situations are subject to freshets and, occasionally, a form of "tidal wave."

**House Post collected by Jacobsen for Chicago.** House post of Bella Coola, collected by Fillip Jacobsen (for the Field Museum of Natural History (No. 18633), where the author saw it in 1915). The label read, as follows: "The lower figure is a supernatural being (Qomoquo), the deep sea chief. The upper figure is a mythical Raven. Both appear in the clan traditions and are represented in the ceremonial dances."

**Chief Clelaman's Memorial** at old Bella Coola village, photographed by H. I. Smith for the National Museum of Canada in 1920.

This memorial consisted of a small wooden house with front door and, at either side, a window. Over the house stands a man with chin beard, seaman's cap, and long English trousers, and holding a pestle-like tool in both hands. This figure was collected for the National Museum of Canada where it is now conserved. A strange belfry-like gable, four-faced, cone-like, and covered with cedar shingles, contains two square front openings, in which the heads of two dog-like animals appear, as if howling.

The inscription in block letters over the head of the sailor reads: "In memory of Chief Clelaman [to the upper left, maltese crosses are inserted on both sides of the name] who died July, 1893, aged
Bella Coola house posts
Bella Coola grave box collected by H. I. Smith for the American Museum of Natural History

50 years. In December 1892 he gave away, with the help of his sons Alexander and Johnny, property in blankets, canoes and valued at 4,000 dollars. This being his eighth large potlatch and feast that he had held.” On either side, at the top corners, the following inscription was inserted: “He was honest and well disposed” [to the right]: “and respected by whites and Indians.”
Grave house posts from the Bella Coolas

Bella Coola human figure (now at the National Museum, Ottawa)
Totem from the neighbourhood of Hartley Bay, in the Raley Collection, now at the museum of the University of British Columbia

Graveyard carvings of the Bella Coolas
In the Bella Coola country
The Kyinanuk family of Tongas (Tlingit) once moved to Fort Rupert and Alert Bay (Kwakiutl) and brought in their Tlingit totems.

(See The Beaver, Winnipeg; Reminiscences of Fort Rupert, by Travis. December 1946.)

1. Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson’s account.

Here is Mrs. Elizabeth (Hunt) Wilson’s own story as given by herself. Her native name at Fort Rupert is Whale-swimming-by (Tlahlemdalaokwaw); at Alert Bay among the Niskish tribe, it is Thunderbird (Kunkwunkulegye):

My mother Anain belonged to the Raven phratry of Tongas (Tlingit, southern Alaska), and her sister belonged to the Wolf. More correctly she was named Annsaq, a Raven of Tongas, or Mary Ebbetts, and married Robert Hunt. Born in 1823, she died at Fort Rupert at 96, in 1919, and was buried there. Her people were born and had lived under the Russian flag; her grandfather was Shaiks, and her mother was of Stikine stock. Her mother was the daughter of the older wife (he had two) of the head-chief of Wrangell — the younger wife used to wait on her.

Mary (Ebbetts) Hunt’s husband was a white man, Robert Hunt, engaged in the fur-trade for the Hudson’s Bay Company. He had come from England to stay for a while at Fort Rupert, then to move on to Fort Nass on Nass River [Port Simpson presumably was meant, as the Nass establishment was maintained only two years, 1831-1833]. They first met at Fort Rupert, while she was stopping there with her family during one of their voyages to Victoria. It was the policy of the chief factors of the Hudson’s Bay Company to marry chief’s daughters, so as to establish peace between the natives and the Company. They were married at the Nass in the Indian way, a Hudson’s Bay wedding, giving away dry goods and blankets. They had eleven children, seven daughters and four sons. They were: Emily Hunt, George Hunt (whom Dr. Boas used as interpreter and helper in his Kwakiutl research work), Annie (married Spencer — several of their children survived: Ann, Roy, Calvin, Allan, Stevens, Norman), Mary Hunt (who died young), Mary (her younger sister), Eli Hunt, William Hunt, Elizabeth (married Lynn, who still lives at Hardy Bay), Jane (married Cadwalder), and Robert, who died a young man.

They lived for some years in the north, then moved to Fort Rupert, where they remained the rest of their lives (the tribe here bears the name of Kwakiutl, and it is here that the name for other kindred tribes originated). Robert Hunt eventually bought out the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post at Fort Rupert and moved into the Company’s house with his family. It had been built of Stikine split boards, a big log house with very thick walls and two large fireplaces. The company had a number of employees at the post there under the chief factor, Captain McNeil, who had married a Haida chief’s daughter.

Captain McNeil and his Haida wife had several children: Lucy (married to Captain Moffat), Helen (married to Blinkensop), another daughter (married to Young), William McNeil, a son, and other boys. Mrs. McNeil and some other members of her half-breed family did not show their Indian blood.

The informant, Elizabeth, was married to a Lowlander from Scotland, Daniel Wilson, who lived with her for a while at Fort Rupert, then moved to the Beaver Cannery where they lived for 30 years. George Hunt, her brother (Dr. Boas’ helper), resided in Fort Rupert most of his life, in the large house formerly of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

The source of the tall totem pole which used to stand at the far end of Fort Rupert village is my mother’s people. It was a copy of the one she had erected on her mother’s grave at Tongas, southern Alaska. She was drowned in the Nass in 1870, and soon after her grave was built at her home village, Tongas. This is the pole that was stolen for Seattle, and given the name of Princess-Face-shining-copper. In Fort Rupert the replica of the original Tongas pole, a “tombstone,” was called Tlakwegem. It was carved by Yukwayu, a Tenarhtao.
Mr. and Mrs. Hunt and children, of the Kyinanuk clan of Tongas, established at Fort Rupert, Kwakiutl
The Hunt sisters at Fort Rupert (Top).
Other members of the Hunt family
In rank the Kwakiutl (the Fort Rupert tribe) were at the head of several tribes; next were the Mamalekula, then the Nemqis (Alert Bay), the Hlawetsis, the Tanarhtao, etc.

The replica of the Tongas pole at Fort Rupert was meant to show that the Hunt family had come from the north. It was like a vindication, because the natives here looked down upon Mrs. Hunt’s people in the north; in the earlier days they had fought with them, and they still hated them. Still, the Hunts were equally attached to both nations, north and south. At one time, when my mother went to Port Simpson, she purchased a slave from a Haida visiting there, as her friend Mrs. Moffatt had done. The Haida slave, called Carving-for-her (gyemark’alas), worked a long time for my mother.

At Fort Rupert, Captain Mowat, factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, had with him a Kanaka (South Sea islander) whose name was George Kamano. When young, I saw this old man, who had married Pauline, of the Tenarhtao tribe of the Kwakiutls. The large Kamano family at Alert Bay descends from them.

An Iroquois named Louis was married here, at the fort, to chief Mellas’ sister. They went from here to Vancouver, but she came back here to die, with her daughters, who live at Alert Bay and Nanaimo. These people are copper colour or darker than the coast natives.

Mary (Ebbetts) Hunt of Tongas, the mother of the Hunt brothers and sisters, remained a loyal Tlingit all her life, in spite of living away from her own people. She was a skillful weaver of Tongas (the type is usually called Chilkat) blankets, having learned how to weave in her early childhood. When she reached the age of fourteen, her mother put her in seclusion in a room, according to the old custom. Before she began to weave blankets, a native painter was engaged to put up a painted cloth behind her when she was sitting at her work. An old woman would tell the girl the figures as they were being painted, in the manner of Chilkat designs (as they are better known). She would never look at the painted pattern at her back, but she reproduced it in her own work.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, her daughter at Fort Rupert, owns a Tongas blanket made by her mother. The pattern has the Raven on each side, the Killer-Whale under, and the Grizzly-Bear in the centre, with faces of other bears. This illustrates a story [Bear Mother ...]

She wove many other blankets, until she was quite old. Five of them are still kept at the Cadewalder in Fort Rupert [all these were seen and photographed in 1947]. One of the blankets she made was sent to Honolulu. She stopped weaving only when the Fort Rupert people walked in on her to learn how to weave like her. She refused to teach them, as Tongas-blanket making was a right of her own tribe.

2. William Beynon’s account. (W.B. of Port Simpson)

The Kyinanuk group at Fort Rupert is of Tongas Tlingit origin. It settled there over seventy years ago after the establishment of the Hudson’s Bay Company at the north end of Vancouver Island among the Kwakiutls. They seem to have had an influence on the carving of totem poles. The Seattle pole from Tongas was their property, and they received a considerable sum in compensation. Hunt who worked for Boas, as well as the Hughsons, belonged to the Kyinanuk of Tongas.

3. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peter Ryan of Metlakatla; William Beynon taking part in their account.

This is a photograph of Annie Hunt, sister of Elizabeth Wilson and the other Hunt brothers and sisters, and daughter of a young Tongas woman who became the wife of Hunt, the Hudson’s Bay Company trader. After they were married among the Tsimsyans, they were sent to Fort Rupert, and they took part in the establishment of the post there.

The mother was a Tlingit of Larhtorh at Cape Fox. The chief there was Hanadzurh, a Raven (Kanhade). Kyinanuk and Anadzurh were other chiefs of the same clan. Their totem pole was the one which a Seattle party sponsored by the Board of Trade and the Seattle Times appropriated. They all shared later in the cash compensation obtained from Seattle. One of them, Lizzy Hunt, was granted $3,000.

Spencer, a fur trader, married Annie Hunt and established a salmon cannery at Alert Bay, in partnership with William Beynon (a Welsh seaman, father of William, of Port Simpson). Spencer had five sons, some of them (Roy in particular) living to this day. George Hughson married one of the Hunt sisters, and their family is still living at Alert Bay. Elie Hunt once was brought over to New York by Dr. Boas for his study of the Kwakiutls. George Hunt, his son, continued in his father’s footsteps in assisting Dr. Boas. The Ravens of Tongas (Kanbade Gidaranits) in a way had moved on with them to Fort Rupert and Alert
Bay. William Beynon, the author's assistant, although born of a Niska mother of the Wolf clan, spent part of his childhood at Alert Bay (from 1900 to 1904), and while on holidays from school at Victoria, returned there for the summers. His impression is that the growth of totem poles there was largely due to these Kyinanuk of Tongas, along with their use of the Thunderbird, which became a predominant feature. [M.B.— Also used were the Raven and the Sun, the Cannibal Tsonokwa, the Sisutl, the Sea-Lion, etc.]

This Tlingit influx into the Kwakiutl country was further increased by the settlement at Fort Rupert of the families of Marwick, Fry, and McNeil. They were all employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and married to Tongas Tlingit (also called Larhsail); their wives' main crest was the Raven. These people usually kept their connections with their home folk, the Kyinanuks of the north. Old Eliza Marwick, for instance, often visited her daughter at Ketchikan. Her husband was the hero of Jack London's *Sea Wolf* under the name of Smith.
The Raven totem pole of Tongas (Tlingit) at Seattle (Left). The same subject on the totem pole at Fort Rupert (Right)
David Hunt's Totem Pole (not a memorial). A round pole, still standing, about 60 feet high.

**Description.** From the top, the carvings are: (1) Raven (*rhwa'wina*); (2) Man (*pegwanem*) carrying the Frog (*wuq'ehl*); (3) Grizzly-Bear (*gyila*) holding a seal (*mi'gwet*); (4) Raven (*gwa'awin*); (5) Killer-Whale (*rhwayem*); (6) Sea-Eagle (*kwigwis*).

**Historical sketch.** It was erected for David Hunt in front of his house in a big potlatch but not as a memorial to anybody. A copper was broken and put in the pit where it was planted. In former times, the people used to put a slave under the pole. It is said to be a free copy of the pole once standing at Tongas, south Alaska, on the grave of the owner's grandmother, which was stolen and taken to Seattle where it stood in the centre of the city for many years. It has now been replaced there by a replica. When the Fort Rupert pole was raised, the mother of the Hunt brothers and sisters stood underneath it and sang a traditional dirge. The Hunt family, through the mother, originated among the Tlingit at Tongas, Alaska, and moved down to Fort Rupert because of marriage with an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, presumably in the 1840's.

**Carver, present owner.** Charlie James (Yaqulas), of Alert Bay, native of Mamelekula. Over forty years ago. Now it belongs to the former owner's brother, Thomas Hunt of Alert Bay. The red cedar out of which it was carved in the round came from Hardy Bay, 10 miles away.

(Informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, Fort Rupert, 1947.)

**The Hunt Totem Pole,** according to Daniel Cranmer of Alert Bay (1947).

This 60-foot pole, a carving of Charlie James of Alert Bay, concerns the Hunt family, whose story goes back to Tongas. It is not a monument [for the dead], but it was raised for a potlatch. Nearly every branch of this family has kept blankets for dancing, which were the work of the first Mrs. Hunt, who
Kwakiutls and half-breeds at Fort Rupert, 1885
Fort Rupert in 1870
was very skilful. [The informant repeats the account of Robert Hunt's marriage to a Tongas Tlingit woman and states that his own wife is a member of the same family.] I am entitled to a Tongas dance or whatever dance my wife gives me through our marriage. Her people would show me how to use it, had I an occasion to bring it out. The old Mrs. Hunt used to attend dances, feasts, and potlatches. Her daughter, Mrs. Cadwallader, also did. They taught the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl lots of Tlingit songs, and I have learned them too. Some of these songs I have put on records at Columbia University, N.Y. [Dr. Franz Boas, some years ago, had Cranmer stay at the University for the benefit of anthropological studies there.] They are dance songs, wild songs, in Tlingit. We don’t understand the meaning of their words.

Statue To-Speak-Through (Hope Island, Boas) in the potlatch house of the Kwakiutl, as described by Dr. Franz Boaz (21: 376, 379, figure 19).

A statue in a house at Rhumtaspe belongs to the subdivision Meemaqaae of the Naqomgilisala. The original home was on the island Gigelem, southeast of Hope Island, Lelaken, who was a chief of the clan, made a wooden statue, hollow behind, and with its mouth open. In the potlatch the chief stands behind and speaks through the mouth of the statue, thus indicating that it is his ancestor who is speaking. Lelaken had one dish representing a wolf, another one representing a man, and a third one in the shape of a bear. As the man who made the present statue was too poor to have all these carvings made, he had them carved on the statue instead.

Commemoration of Hegwugyelagwaw (“What they gave away for her never came back”), Dick Price’s young daughter. The name of the father who had it erected on her grave, during a potlatch, is Carried-and-given-away (yarhenekwulas).
Graveyard pole at Fort Rupert
Graveyard pole at Fort Rupert (profile)

Description. The figures, from the top, are: (1) qrhulus, a mystic bird seen only once by an ancestor; it had down on its body, no feathers; another informant, Charlie Knowles, claimed that this was a minor variant of the Thunderbird from Deer Island; (2) huhuk (what kind?); (3) Tsonokwaw, the mythical sleeping woman, belonging as a symbol to the family of Kwekusutenuq at Fort Rupert, of which the father of the child was a member. The mother was a Mamelekula woman.

Carver, age. It was carved by Hæhlama (Willie Seaweed) of Blunden Harbour, one of the best Kwakiutl carvers, over 20 years ago.

(Informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson of Fort Rupert, 1947.)
Monument of Kwakwabales
(Her-sitting-down-place) with the Sun emblem (lesala). It was erected by her father, Kwarhsistal, of the Tenarhtao tribe.

Description. Under the Sun emblem, a human face with rays all round, a great fish like the Bullhead, is here shown on a house front called kwakwedzalas.

Carver, age. Dick Price, whose name is Yarherewulzas, of Fort Rupert, over 20 years ago. He died soon after.

(Informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, Fort Rupert, 1947.)

Graveyard Pole of Tsawlarlhlehlilaakwe, who died at Rivers Inlet but was buried here. Her husband was Arhwaralekyelis, chief of the Fort Rupert tribe.

Description. From the top: (1) qrhulus (small Thunderbird, from Deer Island); (2) Grizzly-Bear (kyi-lurh) biting a copper; (3) mythical Tsonokwaw woman with a copper.

Carver, age. It was carved by Charlie James (yaqulas) of Alert Bay, native of Mamelekula, over 22 years ago.

(Informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, Fort Rupert, 1947.)

The Speak-Through Post (yeqant'agu) in Wawk'yatsee's communal house (Billy McDuff's uncle) at Fort Rupert. This house is the last one of its type still standing there.

This carved post, about 6 feet high, within the house, is in the form of a human figure, with the mouth open, round, and in the shape of a funnel. This mythical person was supposed to speak and give advice to the chief; actually someone stood behind and spoke through the wooden mouth.

Carver, age. Nelson (Laqalahl) of Quatsino, a Hope Island Kwakiutl, carved it over twenty years ago.

(Informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson of Fort Rupert, 1947.)
Poles at Fort Rupert. Collected for the University of British Columbia in 1947
At Fort Rupert
Alert Bay before poles had been erected
The Alert Bay graveyard. (Bottom) Alert Bay
Alert Bay, looking northwards
Alert Bay, looking northwards
Alert Bay
A pole at Alert Bay
The Thunderbird of Wawkyas, now the tallest in Stanley Park, Vancouver.

Description. The figures on the pole, from bottom upwards, are:
(1) Raven (*kwaw'wine*), with long bill which served as door entrance into the communal house; the outspread wings of the Raven were painted on the house front; (2) Bear; (3) Hukuk, a mythical bird with long bill, without an equivalent English name; (4) Wise-One (*ninwakawe*), a mythical man spoken of in a traditional story, the whole pole being a replica of the “speaking staff” of the Wise-One, about whom a long story was known; inside the stick there was a rattle; every time the Wise-One hit the floor with his staff it rattled; (5) Wolf (*alu'em*); (6) Killer-Whale (*marhenurh*); (7) Thundermaker (*kwunkwanekelegyi*).

All these figures belonged to the Awikyenorh tribe, because Wawkyas, the owner, was from there on his father's side; his mother was Nimkish, that is, of Alert Bay.

Carver, age. It was carved, with the aid of helpers, by Yurhwayu, who belonged to the Mamtagyele tribe of the Kwakiutl, for Wawkyas, the informant’s uncle, and erected about 1899. This was the first large totem pole at Alert Bay. Yurhwayu was quite old at the time he carved it. He died when the informant was young, and he was the only carver of totem poles in the district in those days. It is possible that at Blunden Harbour there may have been such carvers. Carving a pole was quite a public function, whereas the carving of masks was a strictly secret pursuit.

Wawkyas paid 350 white blankets with black borders to Yurhwayu for his work. This was a large price for those days, the value of a pair of blankets being $3, and when given away these blankets formed a big pile.

(Informant, Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay; born in 1885.)

The Talking Stick of Chief Wawkyas, of part Awikyenorh extraction (northern Kwakiutl). This pole now stands in Stanley Park, Vancouver.

Description. In the family of Wawkyas, in the Nurhwins tribe of the Awikyenorh, a speaker’s staff was carved with the same figures as those on the present totem pole. From time immemorial this staff served the chief in the feasts. But Wawkyas, instead of using it as in the past, turned it into a pole and had it erected in front of his house. The Sisiutl (dragon) at the bottom of the pole, like the one now in the graveyard at Alert Bay, did not appear on Wawkyas’ pole but was on the back of the settee in his house.

Myth of the speaker’s staff and the pole. Nawarha'we, the chief of this family long ago, had four sons: Nu'lu'kwas (the eldest), Hralaqoyuwis, Hrwigyalagylaku, and Hraihihla'mas. These young men were getting ready to go mountain-goat hunting when their father gave them advice. "If you see different colours of smoke in the mountains, be very careful, for danger is there. One kind of smoke is rainbow-like; it is the smoke of the cannibals. Black smoke is that of the grizzly bear," and so on with the others. When they were ready to leave, the old grandmother gave the hunters a small pebble, very smooth, a wooden comb, some oil in a vial, and mountain-goat wool. "If you run into trouble, these will help you. Should the cannibals come after you, throw these objects one by one."
The Thunderbird of Wawkyas of Alert Bay in Stanley Park, Vancouver
The Thunderbird of Wawkyas, Alert Bay and Vancouver
Alert Bay in 1912. (Watercolour by Emily Carr)
Off the young men went into the mountains. After they had passed the first range, they saw a village in the distance, and various colours of smoke rose from the roofs. One of the hunters gave warning, "This must be the place which our father has advised us to avoid." The oldest brother answered, "Let us see!" So they agreed to go down and see this village with different colours of smoke. After they had entered the strange village, they went into the house emitting red smoke. In this house a large woman was seated, a child in her arms.

As the young men were going through the woods, the youngest brother scratched his shin, and the blood was running down his leg. The mother picked up a small stick and asked the young stranger, "Please scrape up the blood for my child." The hunter did as he was asked and handed the stick back with the drops of blood to the woman. And the mother gave the stick to her child, who swallowed it. The four brothers then began to suspect that their hostess was a cannibal, since her child craved human blood. They were afraid and whispered to one another, "Let us try to get out!"

In the door there was a knothole just large enough to let an arrow go through. So they agreed to shoot an arrow through it to show their skill. The arrow shot by; the eldest brother flew through the hole, and he went out to pick up the arrow. The youngest also shot an arrow; he was the fastest runner of the four. After both the eldest and the youngest had stepped out of the house, they ran as fast as they could out of the village. The other two brothers also took to flight.

The large woman then hastened out of the house and hurriedly called her husband, who was a giant as well as a cannibal, saying that the hunters had lost their arrows. The cannibal came back home and then started running on the trail of the mountain-goat hunters. He had almost overtaken them when the oldest brother threw back the smooth pebble given him by his old grandmother. The pebble changed into a mountain wholly bare of trees and as smooth as the pebble. The cannibal could not at first climb its steepness, and the fugitives had enough time to gain much headway.

In the distance behind them they heard the cannibal whistle. He had succeeded in overcoming the obstacle and was about to catch up with them. The second brother poured out the oil given him by his grandmother. It turned into a large lake, barring the way of the cannibal. And the brothers ran on toward their home. But once more, after a time, the giant managed to resume the chase.

Just in time to avoid being overtaken, another brother threw back the wooden comb. It changed into a thicket of wild crab-apple trees, so thick and thorny that the giant remained there, stuck for a time. But he succeeded in extricating himself and continued to pursue the hunters as they were descending the mountain slopes approaching home.

The youngest brother dropped the mountain-goat wool on the trail, and there it changed into a thick fog. The giant was lost in it just long enough for the brothers to reach the neighbourhood of their home village. The eldest brother shouted to his father, "The cannibal is giving us chase! Hasten! Tie a cedar rope around the house!" So the chief surrounded the
house with a cedar rope. With his four sons he sought refuge inside the house, just before the cannibal arrived and looked for a way to enter it too. But the rope kept him out. He jumped upon the roof and broke one of the roof boards to look inside.

Nawarha'we, the father of the escaped hunters, spoke to the cannibal, saying, "Brother, be at ease! I invite you to come to-morrow with your wife and your son. Then, if you still care, you may devour my sons."
While the giant was absent back home in the mountains, the chief did not waste his time idling, but he told his sons to dig a big hole, quite deep, in the ground within the house. When the hole was finished, he placed a large wooden settee over it. Here he planned to have the cannibal sit down the next day with his family. He killed four dogs, pulled out the guts, and informed his sons that they would pretend to be dead, lying on the ground with their intestines torn out. Then he placed a great many rocks in the blazing fire. These rocks were such as are used for cooking purposes and which, when heated, are dropped into vessels containing water.

The next day when the cannibal arrived with his wife and child, they saw the bodies of the young hunters lying on the ground within the house with their intestines seemingly out and scattered about. “This is to be your food,” said the Indian host to the mountain spirits, “but you must sit down on the settee first. It is our custom here to tell a story first, before the guests begin to regale themselves.”

Nawarha’we then picked up his speaking-staff (which nowadays has become a totem pole) and began to tell a long story to the strangers. Every now and then he stamped the ground with the butt of the staff, and the top part rattled. The story interested the cannibals so much that they listened intently. But they fell asleep after a while, as they were expected to do.

The four sons pulled the settee apart. The cannibal, his wife, and son fell into the deep hole dug under them. Then the red hot stones and the boiling water were cast upon them, and the hole was filled up with earth.

This was the end of the mountain cannibals. Nawarha’we and his sons burned the flesh of the giants and cast the ashes to the winds, saying, “You shall be mosquitoes, and, in later years, you shall sting the people.” Then he bade his sons go back to the house of the giants in the mountains, and he said, “Look in their house for anything that is worth our having here.”
They went back and found the cannibal masks now called Hrurhuq, the Raven Hrawi’ne, and a great deal of smoked meat of mountain goat. These masks and the meat, they took back home. This is how the Awikye’norh people own the cannibal dance; they once conquered it. In this dance, wild men capture the cannibals.

(This narrative was recorded in the summer of 1947, at Alert Bay, from Daniel Cranmer.)

**The Talking Stick of Chief Wawkius** or “Speaker’s Staff” formerly standing in front of Wawkius’ house at Alert Bay, now at Stanley Park in Vancouver. Explanation given by the Rev. John C. Goodfellow, as obtained by him from George Hunt of Fort Rupert in 1926 (51: 10, 11).

Hunt knew Wawkius well and spoke eloquently of the Potlatch of 1893 on Turnour Island. At that celebration the Chief picked up a small model of his totem and said: “This is the talking stick, and the root of my family, and now I have to turn it into a Speaker’s Staff at this Potlatch I am giving.” Hence Wawkius’ totem is known as his “Talking Stick.” On that occasion, however, Wawkius did not conform to the usual custom of telling the story of each unit of the totem. Mr. Hunt gently reprimanded the Chief for this breach of custom and, in his good-humoured way, told in detail the story that Wawkius should have told. This is the story of Wawkius’ great ancestry, and how he and his sons outwitted the Cannibal who feasted himself at the expense of the tribe. Wawkius’ first ancestor took the Thunderbird for his crest, and hence it appears at the top of the pole.

In *The Totem Poles in Stanley Park* by the Rev. John C. Goodfellow, the following information is added (52: 30, 33, 34):

The figures on the pole (from the top) are: Thunderbird, a crest of the Raven clan; the fin-back or Killer Whale; the Wolf with a man’s head between its jaws; Nenwaqawa, the wise one (according to George Hunt). At a potlatch on Turnour Island in 1893, picking up a small model of his totem, Wawkius said, “This is the Talking Stick, and the root of my family; and now in this potlatch I am giving I have to turn it into a Speaker’s Staff.” Hence the totem is known as Wawkius’ Talking Stick. The story of Wawkius’ great ancestor, Nenwaqawa, tells how he and his sons outwitted the great Cannibal at the North End of the World.

This lengthy legend is told by Mr. (George) Hunt in the 35th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1913-14, Part 2, pp. 1222-1248). The next figure
on the pole is the mythological bird known as the Hoh-hok, frequently used in the huge masks worn on ceremonial occasions by the Indians of Rivers Inlet, Alert Bay, and Cape Mudge. This bird here rests on the Bear, member of the Bear family married into Nenwaqawa's family. The last figure, at the bottom, is the Raven. The ceremonial entrance to the house is through the throat of the Raven; it is 5 feet in height.

Sisa-kaulas. (Totem pole of Alert Bay.) Explanation of its meaning by Mrs. Jane Cook to Rev. John C. Goodfellow (51: 10, 11).

Mrs. Cook of Alert Bay, who is well versed in Indian lore, told the story of Sisa-kaulas' totem. Those who have heard the story will remember that the Spirit of the Deep gave to See-wid permission to use for crests the animals he had seen at the bottom of the sea. Hence on his totem we find the sea-otter, sea bear, whale, etc. But there was something else he saw that did not enter into the story of the totem. That was a cradle. The story of the cradle was the origin of the famous cradle dance which, until recent years, was staged by various tribes up the coast.

This totem pole was described more fully in The Totem Poles in Stanley Park by the Rev. John C. Goodfellow (52: 36-41). It included the following information.

The story of this pole, given by Mrs. Jane Cook of Alert Bay, tells of Chief Sisa-kaulas' great ancestor, See-wid.

See-wid was a delicate boy. His father was disappointed in him; he had hoped that the son would be the glory of the family. One night a young brave saved the tribe from destruction at the hands of their enemies. This only made the father more ill-disposed towards his son, See-wid. One day See-wid walked off into the woods. He walked and walked, not caring what became of him. At length he sat down by a pool. Looking into the glassy waters, he pondered long. He brooded over his misfortunes. Presently the waters became troubled and began to rise. See-wid did not move. A great frog appeared in the water. "Do you want to come with me?" the frog inquired. See-wid answered that he was willing to go, and placed himself on the back of the frog. The frog went down, down, down till it touched bottom. The unhappy boy forgot his miseries, for, at the bottom of the sea, the Spirit of the deep gave him permission to use for crests the animals he had seen at the bottom of the sea; hence the sea-bear, sea-otter, whale. When, after a long time, See-wid appeared on the earth again, he had strange trials to pass through before he could resume the life of an ordinary mortal. But when these trials were over, the father rejoiced in the son, who became great and powerful.

The bird at the top of the pole is clearly related to the bird at the top of Wakius' totem. The bird with folded wings is Kolus, the sister to the Thunderbird. The next figure on the pole represents one of the ancestors of Sisa-kaulas. The child in its embrace is the Chief's son, who later became a chief. The following figure is the Killer-Whale, on the back of which is painted a small human figure. The Sea-Otter is the next figure; it is shown devouring a sea-urchin or sea-egg. The tail of the Sea-Otter is turned up between the hind legs and appears in front of the lower part of the body. The Sea-Bear, near the bottom, is sup-
posed to live in the sea. The figure at the bottom shows one who spoke evil of the chief. But the chief, who is seen with his mouth wide open, had the best of the argument, and defeats his rival.

**The Raven Totem.** A copy of the dancing stick of Nu-nu-kai-wi, as described by the Rev. Mr. Corker to the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 73).

The Raven totem at Alert Bay is carved as a bird with its wings spread ready for flight. The legend of the Raven among these Indians leaves out all of its good qualities and emphasizes its craftiness, cunning, and deceit. Its name is a synonym for hypocrisy.

Space will allow us to describe only two of the Alert Bay totems. The first will be the tall, elaborately carved totem having a large, bat-like bird at the top; part way down a bird with the bill of a crane; and at the bottom the Raven with its wings pictured on the side of the house. This is a copy of the dancing stick of one Nu-nu-kai-wi.

He had four sons, and they said, "We go a-hunting."

The father warned them to be very careful, for over the mountains in the Valley of Smokes was the black smoke (the bear); the white smoke (the mountain sheep); the brown smoke (the grizzly); and the blood-coloured smoke (the man-eating giant).

One son received mountain sheep wool, another a sandstone, another hair oil, and the youngest a comb. The man-eater nearly caught up with the youngest. The comb was thrown down, becoming a jungle; the sandstone became a mountain; the hair oil turned into a lake; and the wool into a fog, which is always seen at the foot of Raven's Inlet.

All these things delayed the man-eater [in his chase after them], so that the sons managed to get home and barricade their house.

The man-eater tried to enter through the hole in the roof. The father said, "Do not be so fierce; Come back to-morrow with your wife and son, and I will give you my two sons, the next day the other two."

The father with the help of his people dug a deep hole and placed two seats over it. After the man-eater came, he took his place on the seat over the hidden hole.

The father then began to tell the history of the tribe and marked time with his speaking stick. Then the enchanted pillars opened and closed their eyes. The stick itself did queer things. The man-eater, now drowsy, was pushed into the pit, where hot water, made hot by hot stones, was ready for him. When he was dead they took his body, cut it up, and burned it. Its ashes became the stinging insects, like the horsefly.

The dancing stick was the model of the totem.

**Raven-of-the-Sea (qwawis)** of Kwawhilanukumi, John Drabble of Alert Bay. Purchased in 1947 for the University of British Columbia from LaLahlewildzemkae, his old wife (Rachel Drabble), and removed.

**Description.** Planted in front of the owner's house near the sidewalk, it was one of the very last poles left in Alert Bay. Its figures are, from the top: (1) Raven or Crow-of-the-Sea (qwawis); (2) Sea-Lion (liken); (3) Grizzly-Bear (gyila); (4) You-Speak-Through (yegandaq), a man. (In the
Poles in the graveyard, Alert Bay
Graveyard figures at Alert Bay

Sinsintlae pole at Alert Bay
feast houses, there were some detached figures, with the protruding mouth shaped like a funnel. The speaker stood behind the hollow figure to give its message to the guests inside.)

*Function, carver, age.* A big feast was given by the owner at the time of its erection. Mungo Martin, who carved it over twenty-five years ago and restored its top figure for the University of British Columbia, is still living. He was paid $350 for his carving.

(Informant, Mrs. Drabble; interpreter, Daniel Cranmer, 1947.)

**The Sun Totem** (*Leesele*) of Lalakyihit, the brother of the informant’s father, at Alert Bay.

*Description.* Its figures were not well remembered. At the top was the Sun (*Leesele*); underneath, the Whale.

*Age.* It was erected about 1900–1905 and was almost as old as the pole of Wawkyas, the oldest of the large poles at Alert Bay. The name of the carver was forgotten.

(Informant, Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay, 1947.)

**The Sinsintlae** of the Nimkish tribe, according to Dr. Franz Boas (21: 338).

This post represents the sun surmounting the speaker of the clan. The upper part is carved in the shape of two coppers, the lower one being painted with the design of a bear. The lower part of the pole has a rectangular cross-section and is painted with figures representing coppers.

**Chief Sesarhawles’ Pole,** presumably now at Stanley Park. Standing about 30 or 40 feet high, it was the tallest in Alert Bay.

*Carver.* It may have been the work of Charlie James, with the assistance of Mungo Martin.

(Informant, Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay, 1947.)

**Bullhead Graveyard Pole** in the Alert Bay graveyard, near the gate, carved by Awaleskyinis of the Mamalelkula tribe, about two years ago.

*Function.* It is a monument to the memory of Abraham (Sirhwaqawle —the Big-Chief: Way-taller-than-the-others), who belonged in halves to Mamalelkula and to Fort Rupert. The carver was not considered a particularly good one, nor did he accomplish much work

(Informant, Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay, 1947.)

**Graveyard Pole of Tsaqalahl** (Nelson) of the Kwatsino tribe, about fifty years old, at the far end (western) near the front.

(Informant, Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay, 1947.)

**Doorway to a Koskimo house,** described by Louis and Florence Shotridge (89: 71, 77).

This doorway represents the jaws of a fabulous monster that lived in the water at the mouth of Cache Creek, where the Koskimo formerly had their abode. The legend concerning this doorway and its heraldic device is, as follows:

In very early times there came on Cache Creek a very large fish known as Stokish. Placing itself where the Indians were accustomed to come for water, this monster gradually
Alert Bay house posts at the American Museum of Natural History
Kwakiutl totem at Rivers Inlet

Poles and grave post at Karlukwees
decimated the tribe in the following manner. When the people came down for water, the fish, hidden at the bottom of the river, would open its huge mouth and, as the water rushed in, the people were sucked in with it. Finally, the tribe was reduced to one old man and a young girl. (It is this old man whose face is carved over the door shown in figure 56.) The old man and the maid were afraid to go to the river for water, knowing that they would be devoured if they did so. At this time there appeared a stranger called Kankokala (who, it seems, was a kind of supernatural being and a saviour), and the old man and the maid told him the story of Stokish. Kankokala took off his belt and, placing it around the girl, bade her go unafraid to bring water. Thereupon the old man was seized with fear that he would be left alone and protested against the suggestion. Finally the maid went to fetch water by Kankokala’s command and was swallowed up like the rest of her tribe. The old man, now being left alone, set up a doleful lamentation until Kankokala led him by gentle persuasion to the place where his tribe had been devoured by Stokish. Upon their arrival they saw the monster (large fish: stokish) wallowing in the water in great agony. At last, precipitating himself upon the bank the monster burst open, whereupon the young girl stepped out alive and well. At the same time, the skeletons of the lost tribe came to light and were scattered over the shore. The old man recognized his tribesmen and started to call them by their names. Then he began putting the bones together, taking care that each man and woman
Kwakiutl posts
Totem at Kingcome Inlet
Mamalikula on Turnour Island
The house of Sweit at Koskimo
Kwakiutl village on Turnour Island
should be made up of his and her own parts. Kankokala then sprinkled the bones with water, whereupon they became clothed with flesh, and all the tribe came to life, rubbing their eyes as though they had been asleep. The old man, however, had made some mistakes and occasionally got the parts mixed; that is why to this day some people are born deformed and why you sometimes see a man with one leg shorter than another.

**Newettee Totem Pole**, according to Dr. Franz Boas (21:379. Fig. 21).

It stood until a few years before 1895 in front of a house at Newettee. The crest belongs to a subdivision of the clan Gigilqam. The members of this group have the Tsonoqoa, a man split in two, another man, wolf, beaver, and the sea-monster *tsąqic* for dishes. A man named Quayoles of this clan was told to unite the dishes and to carve a totem pole. He did. The second figure from below is placed upside down because the dish was in the back of the man, whereas all the others were in the bellies of the carvings. This history may also explain the fact that all the figures are separated on this column, although in most other totem poles they overlap, one holding the other or one standing on the other.

From the same clan was obtained the crane surmounting the speaker on the post farthest to the right on Plate 16.

The three posts in figures 22 and 23 are the front and rear posts of the house Qoaqoki-milas of the clan Gerhsem of the Naqomgiliisaala. The posts were on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition and were transferred to the Field Columbian Museum.

**The Tsonoqoa of Old Nahwittee** at the National Museum of Canada (No. VII E 405, 406).

A pair of door posts, it formed part of a ceremonial house at Cape Comerell, Vancouver Island. They were collected by Dr. C. F. Newcombe in 1899. "Each village had its own" is a remark about it noted in the catalogue.

In storage; not illustrated here.

**Pole of the Denarhtoq** (Knight Inlet). The figures from top downwards are: Thunderbird, Dzonoqua holding a copper, Grizzly Bear and Halibut, a chief holding a copper, a giant sculpin. "The original still stands at Tsawadi, and is about 45 feet high." This was recorded by the author in the spring of 1915 at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. The model of this totem pole at the Museum bore the number 85823 and had been collected in 1904 by C. F. Newcombe.

**Poles of Tsawadi** (Knight Inlet), according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C10, Pl. V).

From a photograph taken by R. Maynard in 1873. The tall pole on the right of the picture is similar to P.M. Nos. 1859 and 1863; this is the original type of pole of the Kwakiutl and the specimen shown was apparently old at the time of taking the photograph. The inside pole supporting the house-beam shows the "Thunderbird;" and the "Sonoqua," the mythical "wild woman of the woods" (P.M. No. 1854), from Koskimo, V. I., supported a similar beam.

**Inside Poles of Tsawadi** (Knight Inlet), according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C10, Pl. VI).

Many of the older houses had two or more carved poles supporting a timber upon which rested the central house-beam. The three poles shown are P.M. Nos. 1860, 1861, 1862, with "Sonoqua" and bear carvings of the Kwakiutl.

**Post of Sadi** (Knight Inlet) of the Danarhtoq tribe of Tsawadi. From above down, the figures are: Eagle, Killer-Whale, Raven, Wolf, Grizzly Bear holding a man's body, Dzonaqoa, and Toad (Frog). Seen by the author at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in 1915. It had been collected by C. F. Newcombe in 1904 and bore the number 65824.
Midway up the British Columbia coast
House Posts showing Dsonoqua. Carved house posts (glam) at the Field Museum of Natural History (in 1915). The label read: "Two dark figures . . . representing the Dsonoqua, a mythical stealer of children," Kwakiutl, Vancouver Island. Purchased of C. Hagenback; No. 18987.

House Posts of Lelarha. Kwakiutl house posts described and illustrated by Dr. Franz Boas (21: 36, Plate 22).

Post of Lelarha in Rhumtaspe (Figure 36), representing a bird (above), and a man sitting.

Posts in house of Qoerhosoteno (Plate 22, Nos. 16/975, 16/974. American Museum of Natural History, N.Y., collected by F. Boas).

House Posts of the Nannimoach tribe of Vancouver Island, as described by James Deans (36: 95).

The last two figures were part of a house of the Nannimoach tribe of Vancouver Island. They stood inside of the house and supported the roof beam. One of these post figures is represented as holding a goose in its hand. One or both of them represent the Or, a spirit of the sea, called by these people swic-o-queie.

Tsawati, Knight Inlet
Kwakiutl village of Tsawati Knight Inlet
Kwakiutl chief giving a speech at a festival
Kwakiutl village of Knight Inlet
Commemoration Statues. Erected in commemoration of various events among the Kwakiutls (21: 390, figure 25, Plates 18, 19).

Figures commemorating distributions of property, the breaking of coppers, and grease feasts are often placed on top of the house or on the poles. To this class belongs the statue of the speaker under the sun mask (figure 1, p. 338), and the speaker on top of a house in Alert Bay (figure 25). Other statues of the same class are shown in Plate 18, representing a chief who gives away coppers in a feast, and Plate 19, representing a chief breaking a copper. This last figure is placed on top of the house at the time when the father-in-law refunds the purchase money with which his daughter has been bought.

Bella Bella Pole 1 at the National Museum of Canada (In storage, No. VII EE 26).

This pole, 13 feet high, was part of the Aaronson collection acquired by the National Museum. Here is its catalogue description: "The carving represents, at the base of the totem, an Indian, by his nose, of the eagle tribe. The next is a young bear, his offspring, the wolf, the beaver, the sea lion with its tongue hanging out, mountain demon holding an owl. The demon who broke the mountain holding a rabbit and eagle on top."
Tsawati, Knight Inlet
Kwakiutl house posts and cross beam at Cape Mudge

(Not illustrated here. Such a pole as this and the other of the pair make one wonder as to their authenticity, as they could not represent the crests of the owner.)

**Bella Bella Pole 2** at the National Museum of Canada (In storage. No. VII EE 27 — second pole from Bella Bella).

Also from the Aaronson collection, 13 feet high. Its catalogue description is "The bear, the beaver, sea-lion, and raven with bear's crest, the sea-lion with open mouth out of which comes the mountain demon, the sea-lion holding in its paws the God of the Wind for protection, and holding the beaver, seal, and fin-back whale."

**Carved Posts of Nahwittee (2)** at the National Museum of Canada (No. VII E 407, 408. On exhibition).

From the interior of Chief George's house at Hope Island (north of Vancouver Island) — Rhumtaspi. They stand about 12 feet high and are painted. No other catalogue information.
The same poles as in 447, at the National Museum of Canada
Graveyard posts at Cape Mudge, Kwakiutl

Kwakiutl house posts and roof beams
The same figures of Cape Mudge
I. One of them represents a bear-like monster holding a person in his human-like hands and must be one more southern illustration of the Bear-Mother myth; here the Bear is shown kidnapping the young woman. Under the feet is a small man, obviously the chief whose posts these were, holding two copper shields, his valuable possessions.

II. The second pole shows the same monster, presumably the Grizzly Bear, holding a person (only the upper part of the body is represented) between his paws or hands. Here the small figure under his feet is the Raven with folded wings on which is engraved an animal face and feathers (both illustrated).

*House Posts of Cape Mudge*, Hope Island, now standing at the entrance of the West Hall in the National Museum of Canada. They were collected by Harlan I. Smith (No. VII E 623 a-c).

Painted all over as soon as made and 20 feet high, they were erected presumably after 1900. Because of the poor workmanship of a tribe not versed in the tradition, they are split lengthwise in several places.

The figures represented are the same on both posts: the Raven at the top, with a face decorating his body; the Beaver below, one of them gnawing a stick and standing on his flat tail.

*Totem Poles of Alert Bay*, described by the Rev. H. P. Corser (28: 55).

The Nimkish Indians of Alert Bay are different in language and in customs from all the tribes to the North. The totem poles, however, have characteristics somewhat similar. How can this be explained?

It was quite proper for a well-bred girl to marry out of her own tribe. [M.B. This happened to the Tongas girls who married white fur traders and went to live among the Kwakiutls.] When she did, she carried her own legends and totem with her. Her children belonged to her family and so inherited her totem. So among all the tribes of Indians many of the same legends and totems may be found.

The Raven totem at Alert Bay is always carved as a bird with its wings spread, ready for flight. The legend of the Raven among these Indians leaves out all of its good qualities and emphasizes its craftiness, cunning and deceit. Its name is almost a synonym for hypocrisy.

Only two of the Alert Bay totems are described here. The first is the tall elaborately carved totem having a large bat-like bird at the top; part way down, a bird with the bill
Kwakiutl totems
Kwakiutl house posts
Costumed Kwakiutls
Kwakiutl pole with the Thunderbird
Kwakiutl house and totem
In a Kwakiutl village. (Watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912)
In a Kwakiutl village. (Wood engraving by Walter J. Phillips)
Carved post in a Kwakiutl village. (Walter J. Phillips)
of a crane; and at the bottom, the Raven with its wings pictured on the side of the house. This is a copy of the speaking stick of one Nun-nu-kai-wi.

He had four sons, and they said, "We go a-hunting."

The father warned them to be very careful, for over the mountain, in the Valley of Smokes, was the black smoke (the bear); the white smoke (the mountain sheep); the brown smoke (the grizzly); and the blood-coloured smoke came from the man-eating giant.

One received mountain sheep wool, another a sandstone, another hair oil, and the youngest a comb. The man-eater nearly caught up with the youngest. The comb was thrown down, and that became a jungle; the sandstone became a mountain; the hair oil turned into a lake; the wool into a fog, which is always seen at the foot of Raven's Inlet.

All these things delayed the man-eater so that the sons managed to get home and to barricade their house.

The man-eater tried to get through the hole in the roof. The father said, "Do not be so fierce. Come back to-morrow with your wife and son, and I will give you my two sons, the next day the other two."

The father with the help of his architect dug a deep hole and placed two seats over it. After the man-eater came, he took his place on the seat over the hidden pole.
Kwakiutl house posts
Kwakiiutl poles in Thunderbird Park
Kwakiutl poles in Thunderbird Park
Kwakiutl poles. (Left) In Thunderbird Park
Kwakiutl posts at the Smithsonian Institution
The father then began to tell the history of the tribe and marked time with his speaking stick. Then the enchanted pillars opened and closed their eyes. The stick itself did queer things. The man eater became drowsy and was pushed into the pit where hot water, made hot by hot stones, was prepared for him. When he was dead they took his body, cut it up, and burned it. Its ashes became the stinging insects, like the horsefly.

The dancing stick was the model of the totem.

Another totem, quite famous, is one with a bird with a hooked nose at the top and at the bottom a bear with what appears to be a mummy of a man in a coffin. There are two of these the same.

The thunderbird gave a man strength to build houses, and afterwards stayed with him to help him. This gave the family a right to use the Thunderbird totem.

The founder of the Alert Bay tribe was Numpkish. He was shown how to get water, and so he filled bladders with it, and made Nimkish River, where salmon could spawn.

Paintings and Carved Posts seen on photographs in the Leeson Collection, Victoria, British Columbia.

Number 73. "Remains of a Kwatsino house (Kwakiutl)." The rear inside post holding up the central ridge-pole from rear to front is a fine carving. The large main figure above is that of a man holding a copper shield crosswise under his left arm. On his head and hanging on both sides, head down, below his ears, are two snakes or heiliks. Between his knees and below appears a squatting being with human-like body but with animal (bear-like) face, showing a double row of teeth. The post is partly painted.

Number 75. "Carved house posts, Quatsino" (Kwakiutl). Two house posts, side by side, hold up a cross-beam on which rests a large central ridge-pole. The house posts represent the Sea-Lion, head up, each in slightly different shape. On the head of one a human-like face is painted. The large head, like the rest of the body, is painted as well as carved. The spine of the Sea-Lion appears in the form of a string of ovals. The horizontal beam represents the Double-headed monster, face outwards, with a large mouth, curved teeth, and prominent nostril.

Number 2. A flat-headed Quatsino (Kwakiutl) woman shown in profile. At the rear in front of her appears a totem pole, distinctly an imitation of a northern one, showing, from the top down: (1) Raven looking down, with wings folded; (2) Beaver sitting, showing its incisors, its scaly tail turned upwards; (3) human-like Raven, his beak hanging down on his chest (as in Haida carvings).

Number 4. "Totem pole inside native house" with the same old woman in profile. At the rear of the house appears a carved and painted inside post with a bird at the top, presumably the Thunderbird; below, a Grizzly-Bear-like being, sitting erect; a bird at the bottom, with folded wings.

Number 28. Leeson Collection: "Feasting, West Coast Natives. Koskimos of Quatsino." Inside a large native house many people are sitting, holding up tea cups, in a single row, their backs to the rear and side walls. A young man stands, a box under his right arm, near the central fire of split logs. At the rear of the house, holding up the central ridge-pole, stands a carved and painted house post. A single large human-like figure decorates it.

Number 53: "Wat-tese village, Quatsino Sound, Vancouver Island." A row of seven plain houses of irregular size and position, in semi-modern
Kwakiutl house posts style, are on stilts close to the seashore. Behind them is the dense forest. A single totem pole, about 30 feet high, stands between two houses to the left. A bird sits at the top. The upper part of the shaft is uncarved. Then comes a large human being sitting; at the base is another person with tattooed or painted face. Three Sea-Lions, heads up, form the short stilts supporting the central houses. A house-front painting decorates the largest house (placed sideways). A carved post in human form occupies the lower centre of a large circle to which are added four fin-like faces of monsters, Sea-Lion-like. The whole front of the house to the left is decorated with the Thunderbird over the Whale.

NOOTKAS

The Nootkas had no Totem Poles, according to Lieut. G. T. Emmons (47: 285).

The Nootkas had no totem poles originally, and the interior house carvings, figured by Cook and mentioned by all others, were rude, grotesque, and with little or no meaning. They used paintings on boards as screens upon ceremonial occasions and as decorative
At Thunderbird Park, Victoria
features against the interior back or side wall of
the house over the chief's space or apartment. On
these were represented mythical or fabulous
monsters in animal form, and, for the prestige
or gratification of the chief, around them some
far-fetched story was woven. The figures prin­
cipally shown were the Thunderbird, the
Lightning Snake, and the Whale, together with
the Wolf.

Lieut. Emmons then goes on to
describe the mural painting in the
interior of the house of Chief Quan­
tough's, in the principal village of the
Opitchesaht, a Nootkan tribe (pp. 288,
289).

The Thunderbird here is called
"Took-su-quin" and is shown with out­
stretched wings, just rising in flight with
a whale in his talons. On one side is the
Lightning Snake "Hai-et-lik" and on the
other side the Wolf, "Ke-naille," all of
which are brought into the family story
as told by Tatooch, the owner of the
paintings and a direct descendant.

No Totem Poles formerly, accord­
ing to information recorded in 1910 at
Alberni, Vancouver Island, by Dr.
Edward Sapir.

According to "William," the Indians
(Nootkas) did not have totem poles but
only house-board paintings and house
posts inside the corners. Some few had as
topaaatis [i.e. the right to use] simple
poles from the Nitinat Indians. Thus
"Captain Bill," at Haikwis, used to
have a pole with the Eagle on top, a
privilege which he had secured from the
Nitinats (also Nootkas).

The Bear and Seal Carved Posts
of Alberni, as recorded by Dr. Edward
Sapir for the National Museum of
Canada in 1910.

About 10 miles from Alberni, Sa­
alimi-ath's father's father owned a
front platform of two sticks about one
fathom long with Bear carved on right
(looking out from platform), Hair Seal
on left. These rested on four posts and
came straight out in front. The platform
rested on the carvings. On the platform
to right stood the Bear; to the left was
the Hair Seal.
Nootka carved post at Friendly Cove
Nootka totem pole at Friendly Cove
Captain Jack's pole at Friendly Cove, Nootka
Chief Ambrose Maquinna, Friendly Cove
The Bear and Anitsatnas on a carved house post of the Clayoquot Nootkas, collected in 1905 by Dr. C. F. Newcombe for the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (No. 87326).

On the label, in 1910, was recorded: "The pole represents another ancestral Anitsatnas, whose power and wealth in sea otter skins is typified by the lower figure, the Bear."

**Quatsino Totem Pole** at the National Museum of Canada (In storage. No. E 365).

It formed part of the Aaronson Collection acquired in Vancouver. Its catalogue entry reads, as follows: "Represents on top the crane with its head down, an owl holding onto a salmon, a bear with a snake and a chief's head, who is holding a copper plate shield in his hands, showing that he belonged to a class that worshipped the snake."

Like two other poles in the Aaronson collection, it lacks quality, perhaps authenticity. It may, however, represent the rather spurious imitation of northern totems among a people, the Nootkas, who never adopted the crest or totem system. Not illustrated here.

**The Skate Painting of Alberni**, Vancouver Island, as recorded by Dr. Edward Sapir for the National Museum of Canada in 1910.

The head chief (Natch.) had the Skate painted over his door (Nan. had two at the sides). He "made up" the Skate when he built the house for his slave's grandson. He had no carved post.

**Inside-House Poles at Sarita**, Barkley Sound, according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C10, Plate VII, Figure 1).

This was the only form of totem pole commonly used by the Nootkas.

**Welcome Poles at Ohiat**, Barkley Sound, according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C10, Plate VII, Figure 2).

These two potlatch figures known as "welcome poles" (P.M. Nos. 2102 and 2103) are the only two large specimens I have information on in my Nootkan records, though small carvings like these were commonly used by the Kwakiutl.

**SALISHES**

**Totem Poles and Posts among the Salish** tribes south of Powell River, according to Lt. G. Barnett of the University of Oregon (16: 384–386).

The Kwakiutl system of privileges and its concrete expressions were flagrantly mis­understood by the Homalco, the Klahuse, and others to the south of them. Among these Indians anyone who could afford it could have a carving or a painting made, usually by an inferior (and doubtless contemptuous) Kwakiutl artist. In consequence, there was a rather brief proliferation and decadence of a few bleak and unesthetic crest patterns among some of the more aggressive and aspiring Homalco, Klahuse, and Slaaimon families.

Of the four big house owners at Salmon Bay (Klahuse) around the year 1800, one was a "quiet tyhee man;" but on the beach outside his house stood a human figure with its hands on its hips. Another important lineage head had the four corner posts of his house carved in the likeness of women, his front ridge-pole support like a man pointing to the seats in welcome, and his ridge-pole and projecting beam-ends in the forms of sea-lion and seal heads. This was the most important man among the Klahuse. He had married a Kwakiutl
Nootka totem at Ehattisaht or Zeballos

Nootka post from Ahousaht village. At the Peabody Museum, Harvard
Two Nootka poles in front of Maquinna's house
At Friendly Cove
Totem at Zeballos, Nootka
Carved post at Sarita, Barkley Sound

Carved posts at Salmon River
Carved post of the Nootkas
Tsawati house posts, Kwakiutl
Carved posts, Kwakiutl
Salish house and carved post
Salish posts
Salish posts in Thunderbird Park
Salish painting of a human face. (Right) Carving from Comox
Salish inside posts
woman, and very likely some of his crests came with her. The third man had five posts in his house, carved in the same way as the second, and, in addition, a central post representing a “greedy man.” This figure was symbolic of plenty, and at feasts it was bathed in oil, so that it oozed and drooled the precious liquid. The same individual also painted a whale on the front of his house. From all reports he was a self-made man (his father had nothing) and he bought these figures, simply paying a mercenary Kwakiutl to do them for him. The fourth important Klahuse man had no decorations on his house; he was a “quiet chief” like the first.

Totem poles in commemoration of the dead were raised at the cemetery or in front of the houses in this northeastern region, but they were few and stereotyped. In 1936 the oldest informant among the Klahuse remembered these poles as “about forty feet” high with a human figure sitting at the top, one standing at the base, and a plain slender shaft connecting the two. He had seen two of these at Salmon Bay and four at Grace Harbour. He insisted, however, that they and the rest of the crests were late acquisitions, taken over by the Klahuse after they began to come out of Toba Inlet and were able, because of the white man’s intercession, to meet the Kwakiutl on friendly terms.

As this testimony indicates, the Slaiamon, at least after they began to assemble with their northern neighbours at Grace Harbour, were acquainted with the kind of totem pole described. More characteristic were paintings and carvings on Slaiamon houses themselves. All of the six large houses owned by prominent lineages in this northeastern region, but they were few and stereotyped. In 1936 the oldest informant among the Klahuse remembered these poles as “about forty feet” high with a human figure sitting at the top, one standing at the base, and a plain slender shaft connecting the two. He had seen two of these at Salmon Bay and four at Grace Harbour. He insisted, however, that they and the rest of the crests were late acquisitions, taken over by the Klahuse after they began to come out of Toba Inlet and were able, because of the white man’s intercession, to meet the Kwakiutl on friendly terms.

As this testimony indicates, the Slaiamon, at least after they began to assemble with their northern neighbours at Grace Harbour, were acquainted with the kind of totem pole described. More characteristic were paintings and carvings on Slaiamon houses themselves. All of the six large houses owned by prominent lineages had some of these decorative features, but there was little variation among them. Sea-lion heads appeared on the projecting ridge-poles of three houses; painted thunderbirds on the gables of four; anthropomorphic posts in two; a painted mask and an eagle on the front of one. One of these householders had eagles carved on the ends of the vertical shafts which held the wall planks in place and projected upward beyond the roof. Finally, one man claimed the privilege of erecting, in front of his house, the familiar figure of a man with his hands on his hips and his mouth open, “calling the people.”

[Among the Sechelt], who formerly congregated and built their permanent dwellings at Pender Harbour, there was even less of a display of privileges of the character under discussion. There were no free-standing posts or poles at all. One house displayed eagles carved on the projecting wall-binders as in the Slaiamon instance above; another had a sea-lion head at the end of its ridge-pole; two others had painted thunderbirds on the gable. Most distinctive was the painted figure of a man straddling the doorway of one house, and carved posts in the shapes of seals, sea-lions, and blackfish in another.

The Squamish informants, in 1936, were vague about carvings and paintings. It was said that the projecting wall-binders were sometimes carved into a man’s head (a “watchman”) at the top, and that the beam-ends looked like “some kind of animal,” just what, was not remembered. There was uncertainty about the house posts, too, but a recollection of at least one representing a man and a grizzly bear.

The Musquiam, with their village on Point Grey, were better situated to benefit from streams of cultural influence from all directions, and it is not unlikely that they were affected by an impulse of crest-carving. Anthropomorphic house posts they did have, and at least
Salish grave post

Salish inside pole, now at Victoria
one of these commemorated a legendary event involving an ancestor of the houseowner. It signalized the control over grizzly bears possessed by the original owner and his descendants and showed a man standing on a bear and shaking a rattle. This is certainly more in line with northern ideas on the subject, but other Musquiam representations were not. House paintings and commemorative grave markers, for example, were contrived at will by an individual in accordance with his estimation of himself or of his immediate relatives. In part, at least, these were ideographic representations symbolizing the talents of the owner. One family, for instance, raised a slender grave-pole with a thunderbird at the top and a cross-plank a little lower down. On one arm of this plank was pictured a fish, and on the other was a human figure drawing a bow. These paintings were intended to signalize the owner's fishing and hunting abilities.

3 The original and the first reproduction of this post no longer exist, but the informant said that the second copy, which was made for his grandfather, is at the University of British Columbia.
Carved house posts of the Coast Salish
Carved Salish house posts at Quamichan
Salish house posts at Quamichan
Salish house posts at Quamichan
Graveyard carving, Salish

[Totem poles and house paintings] did not extend south of Deep Bay. Where they appear they are recent, that is, subsequent to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay post at Victoria in 1843, and in every authentic case their existence is attributed by trustworthy Indians to some immediate connection with the Comox and others to the north. At Nanaimo, for example, there was one house painted with a Thunderbird and a mythical serpent on the front, but this belonged to a man whose father came from Deep Bay. His mother was a Nanaimo woman, and when his father died he moved to Nanaimo and built the house. The father of another individual, still living in 1936, painted the posts in his house and had one carved to represent a man holding a rattle and standing on a slave's head; but this was because he was related by marriage to a family at Comox. Totem poles and even these few house decorations were not native to Nanaimo; and this despite the fact that a local Indian carved the pole now standing in the public square of that city. Another of his carvings is to be found in the yard of his brother-in-law at an old village location near Point Roberts.

The same conclusions hold for villages farther south at Cowichan Bay and on Saanich Peninsula. At the village of the West Sanetch, near Brentwood, one house contained a central supporting post carved into a series of bulges and constrictions. That was all. More recently, some of the Sanetch people as well as the Cowichans undertook the carving of anthropomorphic house posts with indifferent success. At the village of Quamichan, near
Salish grave representing the Sea Otter

Graveyard figures of the Coast Salish
Grave figures of the Coast Salish at Ruby Creek

Duncan, five of these stand to-day along the outside of a dilapidated building. They were made as interior roof supports of a house now gone. Curtis has a picture of these, and they need not be described here except to say that they reveal the characteristic style of all such carvings of a recent date from this restricted area. Conservative Indians to-day repudiate them and regard their display as pretentious and unwarranted by the social backgrounds of the parvenus who erected them.

Thus, from the detailed accounts of living Indians it appears certain there was a decided cultural difference between the native groups on the northern and the southern parts of Vancouver Island. There is, in addition, a fragment or two of documentary evidence for this cleavage. Certainly part of it dates as far back as the time of Vancouver, if we accept the conclusion that the people on Cape Mudge in 1792 were Comox, for Menzies saw dwellings there "with large boards some of which were ornamented with rude paintings particularly those on the fronts of the houses."  

House Post at Comox, reproduced in Lieut. G. T. Emmons' article on "The Art of the Northwest Coast Indians" (47: 282).

Shows a house post with the figures, unexplained, and from the top down, of the Beaver; the Thunderbird in human form or a man whose hooked nose is symbolic of the Thunderbird holding in his hand and in front of him another man, upside down; the Sun or Moon with a human face inside.

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2 Compare Archibald Menzies, Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792, ed. by C. F. Newcombe (Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. V, Victoria, B.C., 1923), 84.
3 Ibid., 82; for "Flea Village," ibid., 68.
Salish carvings in Thunderbird Park
Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park
Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park
Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park

Salish Inside-house Poles, according to W. A. Newcombe (76: p. C 10, Plate IX, figure 2).

Few Salish houses had carved house poles. The greatest number have been recorded from Comox, V.I., and Musquiam, at the mouth of the Fraser; only one or two pairs were found in the Songhee village, Victoria, and five in an old house at Quamichan (a modern house at the latter village has six). Comox was the only Salish village, according to the earliest information available, to have outside totem poles; a custom they probably acquired from the Kwakiutl. The type of pole being similar to that shown in Plate V.

Inside-house Pole, presumably from Comox, now at the Provincial Museum, Victoria (P.M. No. 2355), as described by W. A. Newcombe (76: C 10. Plate IX, figure 2).

Salish inside-house poles. Few Salish houses had carved house poles. The greatest number have been recorded from Comox, V.I., and Musquiam, at the mouth of the Fraser; only one or two pairs were found in the Songhee village, Victoria, and five in an old house at Quamichan (a modern house at the latter village has six). Comox was the only Salish village, according to the earliest information available, to have outside totem poles; a custom the Comox probably acquired from the Kwakiutl, the type of pole being similar to that shown in Plate V.

Comox Totem Poles and Paintings, according to M. G. Barnett (16: 380,382).

The Comox, and also the Pentlach, who lived near what is to-day Courtenay, had a few crude totem poles and other heraldic carvings and paintings.1 In 1936, well-informed Indians, describing the situation as of approximately 1850, could give very little specific data on totem poles. The only precise recollection was that one Comox family had the right to raise a pole with a carved grizzly at the bottom and the figure of a man, a “watchman,” at the top, pointing seaward with one hand and shading his eyes with the other. At the same time it was well remembered that interior house posts and the projecting ends of ridge-poles and horizontal beama were carved into hereditary crest figures. Specifically, the latter took the forms of Sea-Lion and Raven heads, the former of various anthropomorphic figures. One Comox headman owned a central supporting post showing a boastful ancestor standing with his arms akimbo. The same individual had another house post intended to represent a slave his grandfather had captured from a despised neighbouring village.

1 The information upon which this summary is based was obtained in the course of an ethnographic study of this area made in 1935 and 1936.
Another family enjoyed the privilege of erecting a corner or center post in the form of a large-bellied being with deep-set eyes and a round protruding mouth, a monstrous conception borrowed from the Kwakiutl.

Whales, painted but not carved, occurred on the front gables of the houses of one large and prominent Comox family. Doors were usually rectangular, but some privileged lineages had the right to make more elaborate entrances with paintings around and above them to represent human beings, animals, or other crest forms; one was made round to form a Moon; another was shaped like a "copper;" still another was made in the likeness of a Raven's beak, which opened and closed under the tread of the ceremonial visitor.

**Grave Posts from Ruby Creek**, southern British Columbia, according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C 10, Plate IX, figure 3).

Grave figures such as these, often called "totem poles," have been photographed in many localities in southern British Columbia.
Salish house post at the University of British Columbia

Carved post of the Quileutes, Clallam County, Washington
Synthesis and Compilation

THE GROWTH OF HERALDRY OR TOTEMISM ON THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST

Among the Coast nations, the past one hundred and seventy-five years have been filled with social activities that were on the whole intensely creative. From day to day these bold and industrious people were adapting themselves to new circumstances brought about by the coming of the white traders and fully availing themselves of their opportunities. Every tribe, unless weak and easily victimized, acquired new riches through the fur trade and held its own ground; this was particularly true of the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimsyans.

Great ambition fired the souls of the most gifted among the villagers on the salt-water front, who rapidly climbed in the ranks. Some of them, the foremost Eagle, Wolf, and Raven clans of the Tlingits and the Tsimsyans, subdued lower folk and conquered fresh territories. Warlike chiefs, among them Legyarh and Haimas of the Tsimsyans, and Shaiks of the Tlingits, spurred on by jealousies and rivalries for power with their neighbours, captured slaves wherever they dared, as far south as California, became middlemen in the traffic with the tribes of the mountainous interior, and long remained at the helm of their own destinies; they also had much to do with the orientation of the fur trade by the Russians and the British occupants, who competed with each other for their goodwill and services.

As a result of these constant outside influences, important features in the fields of art and social organization came into existence or progressed almost beyond recognition out of prehistoric incentives and experience. The goods, tools, and handicrafts first introduced by the Russians at Sitka and elsewhere in Alaska revolutionized the native technique and outlook, and soon gave rise to the distinctive craftsmanship of the north Pacific Coast tribes. Social upheavals followed in the track of stormy shifts in tribal or national leadership.

The cultural evolution thus fostered by long-sustained relations with the Russians and the British — also with other intrusive elements such as the French and the Kanakas of the South Seas — did not come to a stop as early in the past century as is generally presumed. Among the northern nations it reached its peak as late as 1850-1880, and even later farther south. Only then did the intrusions of the white man (miners and fishermen in large numbers), the preaching of the missionaries, and the resulting discredit of the potlatch upset the earlier balance and bring in withering changes.

The social organization of these people, extensively studied by Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. J. R. Swanton, and other ethnographers since 1886, is not a wholesale legacy of the prehistoric past. Nor had their arts and crafts remained at a standstill in the midst of the turbulent period extending from 1830 to 1880. The deepest influence on all their concepts had been exerted upon them by the Russians and British fur traders and the American whalers, and sweeping renovations had taken place at Sitka, Wrangell, Fort Simpson, Massett, and Skidegate, under the eyes of the newcomers.
At the time Dr. Boas began to study the Kwakiutls — in the late 1880's — they had hardly passed the heyday of secret society activities. Totem poles had not yet made their appearance at Alert Bay, and the showy potlatches were still yearly occurrences. On the other hand, the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimsyans had just given up their so-called "heathenish" practices to covet the advantages of Christianity and to move on with the times. They were adopting new fashions in the building of motor boats and in the erecting of modern houses, chapels, and canneries.

Our knowledge of their ethnography, as obtained since 1880, bears the hallmark of the years when it was secured from their leaders who, immediately after they had turned their back upon the past, became willing informants and imparted their individual experiences and recollections exactly as they possessed them. They had been participants in the rapid social evolution of their own generation, from 1850 to 1900. Outside of their testimony, little was left for ethnographers to gather, except in the scanty literature of the early discoverers and traders antedating 1860.

Undoubtedly the best years for recording songs, myths, and tribal recollections, and for collecting specimens and buying totem poles for museums and world fairs, among these Indians, were those years immediately after this legacy of the recent past had lost its sway over them. Everything was fresh in memory, as it belonged to the last few decades of intense upheaval and progress.

The finest carvers of masks, rattles, and totem poles — Oyai, Neeslaranows, Haesem-hliyawn, and Hlamee, among the Tsimsyans — thrived until the turn of the last century. Very little would be left now bearing the name of the Haidas, should we discard the splendid work of their craftsmen of 1860–1920 at Skidegate and Massett; these were the two Edensaws, Skaoskay or David Shakespeare, William Dixon, Tom Price, John Cross, the cripple Chapman, and a number of others, not a few of whom survived into our century. In another sphere, the secret societies of the Kwakiutls and the Tsimsyans have continued in operation in some quarters almost to the present day.

If the research work of Dr. Boas, Dr. Newcombe, and Dr. Swanton proved very fruitful, it was largely due to their arrival upon the scene at the psychological moment. Never in the lives of these tribes had there been so much to record, so rich a crop of varied materials to be harvested; the more easily since the old customs suddenly had lost their former sacredness and prestige, and it was possible for the first time to reside in or near the native villages.

Even in the later generation, when the writer of this monograph had his turn in the same field, opportunities still proved encouraging, at least among the thirty tribes of the three Tsimsyan nations, and they could not be exhausted. So they still persist to some extent among most of the Kwakiutls and the Nootkas farther south. Only among the Haidas and the Tlingits have the sands of time run out to the vanishing point.

The vast number of oral texts (consisting of tribal or family traditions and tales), the census-like analyses of social elements, the maps of hunting-grounds, the lists of crests and privileges, etc. recorded for the National
Museum of Canada in the course of eight prolonged field trips since 1916, are so abundant that they could not soon be marshalled into final form and published. They are so explicit and significant that they lend themselves to a chronological reconstruction of their sequences; in other words, they can be used as documents in a historical way. Their bearing upon the knowledge previously acquired elsewhere on the coast may be outlined here in brief.

The bulk of the totemistic culture of this area is obviously quite modern. The totems or emblems represented on house fronts or in carved poles standing in the villages are of the past century or so; all those we actually know came into existence after 1860, and at that time most of them were innovations, quite unlike anything known before.

The earlier work of the Haidas and the Tlingits is found in the oldest collections of carved argillite and metal preserved in our museums; it bears little resemblance to their later themes and style in the "totemic" vein; it is mostly all inspired by foreign models—Chinese or European. The Tlingits, then in the lead, were among the first to acquire metals, tools, and sound craftsmanship. These came to them from the Russian experts employing them at shipbuilding, casting metals, and providing agricultural machinery for Oregon and California in the shops at New Archangel or Sitka. These native helpers were born with tastes and talents of their own; in their spare time they fashioned ornaments for their women and themselves. Soon they had imitators among the Tsimsyans and the Haidas to the south. These imitators were not trained into being mere copyists. In their isolation and stimulating independence they soon moved away from their starting points and became originators, yet without hiding the true sources of their inspiration.

From traditional accounts, the oldest totemic crests among them were the Eagle and the double-headed Eagle, both replicas of the Russian Imperial crest and the badge of the Russian American Company. The adoption by the Na'as in Alaska of the emblems of the white newcomers happened quite early, presumably in the eighteenth century, in the course of their association with them as auxiliaries in the fur and coast trade. Because of its resemblance to the Eagle, they adopted the Gya?belk or Thunderbird as a secondary crest soon afterwards. This fabulous bird belonged to their ancient lore, but it had come to them from a Siberian concept. Eventually, and through the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Thunderbird spread to other nations to the south including the Kwakiutls, whose favourite decoration on totem poles it still remains.

The rise of this imitative heraldry in Alaska and on the coast of British Columbia was as rapid as it was spectacular. Like wild-fire it followed the trails of southward migrations and predatory inroads of the Eagle clans of the Tlingits and the Tsimsyans among their southern neighbours, when it was not actually diffused by the personnel of the fur-trading posts. In the past six generations, the closely related Eagle and Thunderbird clans swept south and carried the Russian cultural influence under new forms to the Haidas, the Tsimsyans, and the Kwakiutls.

No sooner had the local population become aware of the power of the Eagles over them, than it tried to shake off the yoke and put a stop
to their constant inroads and extortions. But the only way to hold its ground was to fight them with their novel weapons. Like them, they did their best to acquire metal daggers, spearheads, guns, and large coppers for their potlatches. They had hastily to adopt badges of their own as defensive symbols. But some of them, like the older moiety of the Haidas, did it so late that when they assumed the Raven for a totem, it was already the property of some of the newcomers among the Eagles, who continued using it.

The Raven, the Killer-Whale, the Grizzly Bear, the Wolf, and other totems among the three northern nations came into existence as crests less than a hundred years ago. The Wolf has not spread to the Haidas, except under the disguised form of Wasco (Wolf of the Sea, with fins), and the Grizzly Bear was transformed by them into the Grizzly-Bear-of-the-Sea, a whale-like adaptation. After 1833, the Beaver became the highest crest of all for the Tsimshians and the Haidas, because the leading Eagle chiefs adopting it were the native patrons of the Hudson's Bay Company. This company, just established in their territories, had the Beaver as its emblem. The "totemic" pattern was repeating itself: just as the Na'as had borrowed the Eagle from the Russian traders, the later Eagles were taking on the Beaver badge of the Canadian company.

From non-totemic, as it had been to that date, the social organization over a wide area assumed the form of phratries and clans with crests, but without a pre-arranged or unified plan. For this lack of unity, it turned out to be quite topsy-turvy and difficult to unravel. This new-fangled totemic clan system, until very recently (1925), was still spreading southward and to the interior tribes of Dene stock. The totem pole fashion, however, travelled south much faster than the clan concept. For this reason, the poles on Vancouver Island are, socially speaking, meaningless; they only show, as a matter of prestige, that the chief erecting them had the means to undertake the required expenditure.

War-like chiefs (Neeshawt, head of a noted Raven-Frog clan, and the Eagles bearing the name of Legyarh and their northern kinsmen among the Haidas), through several generations in succession down to 1880 or even later, were personally responsible for many changes in the social structure of their people. The forebears of Legyarh belonged to the Tlingits. At one time, about six generations ago, they were transplanted among the Kwakiutls to the south; then they moved back and settled midway, among the Tsimshians. A chief bearing the name of Legyarh, apparently about 1830, was the originator of the secret societies among his band. These fraternities of mutually helpful craftsmen and raiders were his own device to break down the resistance of hostile clan chiefs opposing him and to bring about his domination among the northern tribes. They progressed the more easily among the Kwakiutls for the lack of opposition, in the absence of clans. The potlatch, an ancient system of native transactions and social entertainment, everywhere became the vehicle of new ambitions for conquest, prestige, and power.

Northern natives were highly responsive to outside influences because of their own foreign origin, their versatility, which came from their Siberian ancestry, and their advanced traditions. Their persistent cultural incentives issued directly from their Tartar or Mongolian ancestors. As most of their
forebears had crossed Bering Strait into America only a few centuries before the coming of the Slavs, they still retained clear recollections of the use of iron and copper; they had regretfully lapsed from a higher state into the stone age — the reverse of the usual cultural progress elsewhere.

Through their annual barter at the edge of Bering Sea and from cast-off derelicts on the coast, they often received much needed supplies; they also availed themselves of the natural resources of their new territories, for instance, the large nuggets of copper on the Copper and the White Rivers in Alaska, and farther afield; out of these they hammered points and even large dishes. Some of them would at times return to Bering Sea for the barter or to the copper beds to pick up more raw metal. The widely popular Copper-Woman myth among all of them far and wide — the Dzelarhons of the Haidas and the Tsimsyans — is a symbolic allusion to such factual reminiscences.

Almost to the present time, the ties of these new Americans with their Asiatic kinsmen never were entirely severed. Their culture, although forcibly impoverished by their nomadism, remained markedly the same, and the list of similarities or parallel features and themes is remarkably impressive — much more so than anthropologists generally realize.

Down into our times, social and cultural elements have kept trickling across Bering Sea into Alaska, from there to drift on their unbroken way southward or eastward.

Small roving bands trudged on each others' heels up the Yukon River and its tributaries, then south to other salmon rivers, or else in pursuit of caribou herds far into the Rockies. Hunger and the quest for food led some of them still farther afield, across the mountains eastward into the sub-Arctic tundras of Mackenzie River and beyond. This shifting of nomads on the trails of wild animals along the rivers or down the sea-coast never was as intense as after the coming of the Russians. It was even speeded up by the demand for furs for the traders, as late as the latter half of the last century. On this belated process all the tribes involved still preserve many vivid tales and narratives.

The Siberian social pattern persisted among most of them. It survived its transfusion into the New World, because of the maintenance of ancient customs and countless individual recollections. In winding up here, two or three of these may be outlined, as instances to the point.

Within the small nomadic bands of eastern Siberia and Alaska, who were the ancestors of a part of the Northwest Coast people, a group of kinsfolk invariably associated with another of different extraction, with whom its members intermarried, bartered, and exchanged ceremonial services. The partnership between these two associated groups, which may be called moieties, always began with a treaty of alliance comparable to a marriage of convenience. Both moieties, bound to each other by mutual interests and various needs, usually managed to live side by side in peace and harmony. By tradition, they were indispensable to each other.

Less than two hundred years ago — just before the coming of the Russians to the mouth of Stikine River — the Na’as of the present Naha Bay north of Wrangell were thus divided into two tribal halves, when a
feud broke out between them. After having come to blows — two selected emissaries fought a duel in Siberian style to decide the issue — the defeated half broke away and took flight in canoes. The fugitives, near the mouth of Stikine River, encountered white traders from across the sea and, according to their own tradition, took from them the Eagle emblem. Until that time they had not possessed any totems or crests. From then on, only, has the Eagle been their own distinctive badge.

Their opponents, the Laranows, eventually became the Wolves, but the Wolf never was emphatically a totem or a crest; its plastic and pictorial forms as crests are not common anywhere to this day.

Other emblems later were added to the Eagle clans' sacred possessions to mark experiences that they considered supernatural in the course of their episodic trek southwards. Some of these crests — the Cormorant parka, a Siberian garment, and the tall hat woven out of spruce roots, a Mongolian head-gear — are given in their traditions as notable features of the recent past. More crests eventually commemorated actual experiences in their life as sea hunters in the service of the Russians; for instance, the huge Cuttle-Fish or gigantic Octopus and the Giant-Clam, the knowledge of both of these having come to them from the seas far to the south.

Another band joined these Eagles after they had landed on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland opposite. It consisted of the sea and canoe folk under the leadership of Salmon-Eater (Gitrhawn); they traced back their origin to the edge of Bering Sea, and their famed ancestress was the mythic Dzelarhons.

After the use of emblems in the manner of the Imperial Russians had been established everywhere, they sought, in their tribal recollections, outstanding features, out of which they coined emblems or totems for their use. Their preferences furnish some implicit evidence of their near-Siberian origin, which is also otherwise disclosed by their type of habitations, their fishing and hunting devices, and their traditions, ways of living, and emblems. For example:

The Cap of Cormorant, a head-gear which Salmon-Eater, their chief, who had sailed out of the Foam (the Sea), was wearing at the time of his arrival with six large canoe-loads of his people on the Alaskan shore.

The wide-brimmed hat of split spruce roots, in the Mongolian style, is covered with small copper frogs, which an old woman in distress is said to have woven at the time of a volcano eruption (possibly at the Aleutian Islands). This old woman, whose frog amulets were a Siberian heirloom, sang a dirge, in which the refrain is "Hayu" (Alas! in Chinese), and the words are "Our war-canoe travels over the ocean." This dirge is still preserved among them and has actually been recorded on the phonograph.

The sail made of matting (called ahlarom-skane), and two dug-out canoes tied together side by side and joined by a bridge made of flat boards, the sail and the twin-canoes, are devices typical of the southeastern Asiatic coasts; outside of these instances they never spread to the whole Alaskan coast.
The stone pillar of Dzelarhons, in commemoration of the tragic death of the Volcano Woman, who gave birth to a creek everafter issuing from her; this theme of the spirit-like or divine river is also typically Asiatic.

The survival of a considerable number of dirges, of large skin drums to accompany them at the incineration pyres, of mortuary customs, of chants with an actual Chinese refrain, all are reminiscent of a primitive form of Buddhism, such as still exists in northern Siberia. If Buddhism, as now seems certain, has prevailed since prehistoric times in southern Alaska and in British Columbia, we have to face the question of how and when it was implanted there.

Buddhistic dirges and funeral practices may have crossed the Bering Sea, as is almost certain, with the scattered Siberian emigrants as part of their culture, in the past uncounted centuries. If of a later date, they must have been planted among them in the New World by a Chinese or Siberian priesthood—in the manner of shamans and medicine-men. The well-known Chinese records of Fu-Sang on the spread of Buddhism seaward to foreign lands can still provide us with a clue to a historical domain inviting our closer attention, as it did, in the early 1880's, that of the early European Americanists.

**Mythical beings and crests** of the north Pacific Coast Indians, listed and described by Alice Ravenhill in *A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture* (85: 11–55).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mythical Beings</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hilunga, the Thunderbird</td>
<td>11–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeltch or Hooyah, the Raven</td>
<td>14–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scana or Ky-q-iu, the Killer-Whale</td>
<td>18–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis-i-utl, the Double-headed Snake</td>
<td>22–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'sonoqua, the Wild Woman of the Woods</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was-q or Wasgo, the Sea Monster</td>
<td>25–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoorts, the Bear</td>
<td>27–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beaver</td>
<td>29–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wolf</td>
<td>31–32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mountain-Goat</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eagle</td>
<td>34–36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hawk</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Owl</td>
<td>38–39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Red-shafted Flicker</td>
<td>40–41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Woodpecker</td>
<td>42–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs</td>
<td>44–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dog Fish</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hargo, the Halibut</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noo, the Squid</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosquito and Hummingbird</td>
<td>49–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Moon</td>
<td>51–52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Skookum</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dance Spirit</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing Nose Spirit</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Crests of the Gitksan tribes** of the Tsimsyans, as illustrated on totem poles.


Crests classified according to types: Quadrupeds (158–160), birds (161–163), fish (163), reptiles (164), plants and trees (164), sky and natural
phenomena (164), insects (165), monsters with animal features (165),
human beings and spirits (165–166), semi-mythical and historical ancestors
(167), objects, devices, masks (167–169), people (169). Totals: 525 figures or
crests on 109 totem poles.

Crests classified according to their origins, as claimed by their owners
(172–175).

Origins of the crests explained in myths (adaorh) and traditions (175–177).

Crests and totems of the north Pacific Coast, described by Thomas
Deasy, Indian Agent among the Haidas (“Winter Festivals of the Indians of
British Columbia;” Victoria Daily Times, April 23, 1904).

The buildings were adorned with totems, including the mythical Thunderbird, Sea
Serpent, and other beasts and birds. The wooden Sea Serpent is 15 feet long and is endowed
with two heads and eight feet — one head on each end — shaped like the head of a crocodile,
and four of the feet turned toward each head. The Indians claim that such a monster existed
in prehistoric times. The wooden Thunderbird kept guard over the residence of the principal
chief and was minus head and wings. The Indians informed me that the appendages were
stored in the building. Along the banks were numerous totem poles, covered with devices. On
one of the buildings was a painting of a Raven (according to the native style). It was all
wings, without body or head.

Lack of system among the Haidas, Tsimsyans, and Tlingits
about their phratric crests, as described by J. R. Swanton (97: 65, 66).

It so happens that the crests of the Raven clan agree with those of the Bear and Wolf
clans among the Tsimshian, whereas the crests of the Eagle clan agree with those of the
Raven and Eagle clans among the latter people; and, since crests are considered much more
important than the mere name of the clan, each Haida clan considers the two Tsimshian
clans, bearing its crests, its “friends.” I suspect that in early times the Haida Ravens first
came in contact with Tsimshian of the Bear and Wolf clans at Kitkatla, whom they came to
regard as their “friends,” and with whom they exchanged crests. Later, when they came in
contact with the other two Tsimshian clans, they were obliged to regard them as the
Tsimshian Bear and Wolf clans did. Since the crests of the Raven clan among the Tlingit
agree with those of the Eagle clan among the Haida, and vice versa, I suspect that the same
curious condition of affairs will be found there.

Lack of uniformity in classification of crests among the Haidas,
Tsimsyans, and Tlingits, as indicated by J. R. Swanton (97: 107).

Each family among the Haida had the right to use a certain number of crests—that is,
figures of animals, certain other natural objects, and occasionally articles of human manufac-
ture — during a potlatch; or they might represent them upon their houses or any of
their property, and tattoo them upon their bodies. Theoretically, the crests used by Raven
families should be absolutely distinct from those used by Eagles, and generally this is the
case; but, perhaps owing to the fact that the crests used by Haida clans do not coincide with
those used by the same clans among the Tsimshian and Tlingit, one or two Raven families at
Massett have acquired crests that are on the Eagle side at Skidegate. Thus the dog-fish is
used by the Middle-Town-People of Alaska and the Gitins of Skidegate; and the skate, by
the Gitans of Widja and the Raven family of Tcaat. Evidently a crest was sometimes
acquired by one family in ignorance of the fact that it was already used by the opposite clan
elsewhere.

The Killer-Whale is considered the oldest Raven crest, and the Eagle the oldest crest on
the opposite side. The Killer-Whale was owned by every Raven family without exception;
and the Eagle, by almost every Eagle family.

Next to houses and house poles, the most important as well as the most conspicuous
carved objects were the poles for the dead. They have been divided by investigators into two
classes — grave posts in or upon which the remains of the dead were themselves bestowed and
memorial columns erected merely in his or her honour. Toa Haida, however, there is no
essential distinction between them. Both are called “grave-father,” and both sorts were
erected by the successor of a dead chief when he took the latter’s place.
The most elaborate variety of "grave-fathers" was called "two grave-fathers" or "double grave-father." It consisted of a long box with a carved front, capable of holding several bodies, and, as the name implies, was raised upon two posts instead of a single one. The bodies were each enclosed in a smaller box before being placed inside; and all belonged to the same clan, the chief for whom it was erected, and his immediate friends. Such a double grave post is illustrated on Plate VI. It was raised for a chief woman belonging to the Rotten-House-People and ornamented with one of her principal crests, the Dog Fish.

In other cases the grave-box was placed upon the top of a single pole or let into the top of the pole itself; and near Massett I saw a pole which had been channelled along the back like a house pole, the remains placed in the channel, and the whole boarded over. But, whether any bodies were placed upon the post or not, it was sometimes carved in imitation of a true grave post, stout planks being nailed crosswise on the front of the post at its top, to resemble the front of a grave-box.


The Tsimsyans distinguish clearly between two types of stories — the myth (ada'ox) and the tale (ma'hlesk). [M.B. The adaorh is considered as truthful; it is the tribal tradition of a pseudo-historical character.]

Similar distinctions are made by all the other tribes of the north Pacific Coast. The nu'yam of the Kwakiutl, ik'anam of the Chinook, and speta'khł of the Thompson Indians, designate myths in the sense here given as opposed to tales . . . (p. 565).

List of myths and tales, and comparative annotations, which are illustrated on totem poles (See the details):
- Origin of daylight (567, 641, 651).
- Incidents based on Raven's voraciousness (Nos. 18, 40, 568).
- Raven's beak pulled off by fisherman (No. 24, 568).
- Raven swallowed by the Whale (No. 27, 569).
- A Giant Cannibal (No. 80, 573).
- Origin of mosquitoes (No. 81, 573).
- The double-headed serpent (No. 26, 594).
- The salmon is stolen (676, 677).
- Whale swallows Raven (687, 688).
- Thunderbird (711, 716).
- The Spider Crab (721).
- The Deluge (727).
- The Feast of the Mountain-Goats (738).
- The Giant Devilfish (739).
- The Mouse Woman as adviser (752, 819, 846).
- Bear Mother (753).
- The Prince taken away by the Spring Salmon (770–779).
- Vagina dentata (809, 810).
- Testing the husband's faithfulness by the plume (817).
- Djilaqons, the Frog, and the volcano (833).
- The story of Gunarnesemgyad (835–838).
- The Woman carried away by the Killer-Whales (840–845).
- The Heavenly Children, the crests painted on the houses (853, 854).

Spider Woman and Butterfly Myths in Siberia, according to Waldemar Bogoras (113: 328).

The Spider-Woman (Ku'rgu-ne'ut) descended from heaven on a long thin thread. She plays an important rôle in tales and incantations.

Butterflies were created from autumn leaves scattered by the wind; mosquitoes, out of dirt that the Creator, after finishing his work, rubbed between his palms.

Mythical and Folk-lore Themes illustrated on totems, the distribution of which has been traced by Stith Thompson (120).

The child and the cannibal (Bella Coola: Boas, Jesup North Pacific Expedition, i. 83). Once upon a time there was a youth whose name was Anutkoats, who was playing with a number of girls behind the village. While they were playing, a noise like the cracking of
twigs was heard in the woods. The noise came nearer and nearer. The youth hid behind a tree and saw that a Snanaik was approaching. She was chewing gum, which caused the noise. He advised the children to run away, but they did not obey. When they saw the gum, they stepped up to the Snanaik and asked her to give them some. The Snanaik gave a piece of gum to all the children, and when she saw Anutkoats, who was advising the children to return home, she took him and threw him into the basket which she was carrying on her back. Then she took all the other children and threw them on top of him into her basket. After she had done so, she turned homeward. Then Anutkoats whispered to the girls to take off their cedar-bark blankets and to escape through a hole that he was going to cut in the basket. He took his knife, cut a hole in the bottom of the basket, and fell down. The girls also fell down, one by one, until only one of them was left . . . (pp. 190, 191).

*The Cannibal who was burned* (Swanton, 97: 265). Five brothers were always hunting. After a while an unknown man came in to them. He came in many times. Once when he was there, the eldest brother's child began to cry, and, after all of the brothers had tried to quiet it without success, he offered to do so; but when they gave it to him, he secretly sucked the child's brains out from one side of its head. When he handed it back, and they saw what he had done, they seized wood from the fire and beat the stranger. Then he became angry and killed all the brothers but the youngest, whom he chased about in the house until morning. The boy ran out and after a long run, still pursued by the ogre, crossed a high mountain. By and by he crossed another and saw a lake beneath it. Running thither, he came to a log, composed of two trees growing together so as to make a fork, floating upon the water. Going out upon this, he threw himself into the crotch.

When the pursuer came up, he saw the man's shadow in the lake and began jumping at it. Now the man began to sing a North Song, and the lake at once began to freeze over. When all had frozen over except the small hole where the ogre was jumping, it froze so quickly after he had gone in that he could not get out again when he came up. Then he saw the man on the tree and asked him to pull him out; but the man only sang louder, so that the ogre was held fast. The man now began to cut some dry wood to build a fire over the ogre's head, telling him at the same time that he was going to save him. When the fire was lighted, the ashes flying up from the monster's head turned into mosquitoes. That is how they started (p. 193).

*The Cannibal who was burned* (353).

*Insects from burnt monster's body* (354).

*Raven's adventures* (Thompson, p. 280). Theft of light [the Prometheus theme] (281). With many tribes the theft of light and the theft of fire are confused. Even when they are not, many of the details are parallel. In some cases light is identified with the sun. Theft of light by being swallowed and reborn [From Bering Strait to all the northwestern area in America]. Light kept in box or basket [same area]. The theft of Fire (289). Fire is stolen by the culture hero for the use of mankind.


*Vagina dentata* (309).

*Transformations by putting on skin* (313). A person is transformed by putting on the skin or feathers of an animal or bird.

*Thunderbird* (318). It is impossible to separate with any degree of precision this motif from that of Roc, for stories of the adventure with the Roc are told of the Thunderbird, but many other forms of the visit to the Thunderbird appear.

*Monster killed from within* (321).

*Victims rescued when swallower is killed* (321).

*Lulling to sleep by "sleeping" stories* (322).

*Miraculous birth* (323). Stories of miraculous birth are very widespread among the American Indians.

*Immaculate Conception* (323).

*Dirty-Boy* (327). Loathsome bridegroom assumes original form.

*Journeys to the Other World* (330).

*The Orpheus myth* (337). An interesting parallel to the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice occurs in all parts of North America.

*The Stretching Tree* (332). A tree which magically stretches to the upper world.

*Obstacle flight* (333 and 342). A fugitive throws behind him objects which magically become obstacles in the path of the pursuer. One of the most widely distributed motifs in
folk-lore. For general distribution, see Bolte-Polivka, II, 140. Professor Boas sees in the America Indian versions two different currents of transmission: "an ancient one, coming from Siberia by way of Bering Strait; a recent one arising in Spain and passing into Latin America and gradually extending northward until the two meet in California." [M.B. To these must be added the post-European sources from French Canada, as the same theme is a familiar one in Canadian folk tales, not only among the French Canadians but also among the Indians who borrowed it from them, as they did many others.]

Visit to the land of the dead (337).
Bear Mother (342 and 345).
Light extinguished and woman stolen (343). In Siberia and North America.
Snake paramour (344).
Children kidnapped in basket deceive kidnapper and escape (351).
Many-headed monsters (357). From Siberia to America.
The Seven-Headed Dragon (358).
The Tar-Baby (359). All magically sticking to one another.

NUMBERS

Number of Carved Columns in the North (Haidas, Tsimsyans, and Tlingits), according to James Deans, in 1884. (33, 34: 345, 346).

There are three or four villages of Haidas in southern Alaska, at Kyganie [Kaigani] and other places, who have also carved columns.

In all Huidah [Haida] Land including the above-mentioned tribes in 1884, I am sure there was not less than 500 carved columns.

The Skickeens of Alaska, in 1862, had a vast number of these columns in their villages.

Amongst the Simsheans at Fort Simpson in the villages of the Nass and Skeena, as well as at various other places, the number and designs of these columns are simply astonishing.

As far as I have seen, the style of the carvings, as practised by the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands and all outlying tribes speaking the same language, and known by the name of Haidas (strangers), is the name as practised by the Kling-gate language; the Simsheans, who occupy a vast territory on the islands, inlets, and rivers of the mainland in British Columbia, and who speak the Simshean language. The modes of carving as practised by the above-mentioned people and nations are unique in their designs, crests and legends, while the styles of their neighbours, the Bill-Billas, Bella-Coolas, Quackguills, and others are so different that it may freely be said they have a style of their own, if the rude carvings, on the ruder poles they have, may be called a style.

Appraisal. Totem Poles on the north Pacific Coast, as observed and described by George M. Dawson in 1878 (30: 115 B, 116 B, 117 B).

Among the Tsimians at Fort Simpson, most of the original carved posts have been cut down as missionary influence spread among the people. At Nawitti (Hope Island), Quatsino Inlet (Vancouver Island), and elsewhere, where the natives are still numerous and have scarcely been reached by missionaries, though similar posts are found, they are small, shabby, and show little of the peculiar grotesque art found so fully developed among the Haidas.

As a rough average, it may be stated that there are at least two carved posts for each house among the Haidas, and these, when the village is first seen from a distance, give it the aspect of a patch of burnt forest with bare, bristling tree-stems. The houses themselves are not painted and soon either assume a uniformly inconspicuous grey colour or become green or overgrown with moss and weeds, owing to the dampness of the climate. The cloud of smoke generally hovering over the village in calm weather may serve to identify it. Two rows of houses are occasionally formed where the area selected is contracted. No special arrangement of houses according to rank or precedence appears to obtain, and the house of the chief may be either in the centre of the row or at the end. Each house generally accommodates several families, in our sense of the term; the elder to whom the house is reputed to belong, and who is really a minor chief, of greater or less importance in the tribe — or village — according to the amount of his property and number of his people.
The carved posts, though one may still occasionally be erected, are as a rule more or less advanced toward decay. A rank growth of weeds in some cases presses close up among the inhabited houses, the traffic not being sufficient to keep them down. In a few years little of the original aspect of these villages will remain.

**Tuxecan poles in 1922** (Tuxecan in Alaska). In the *Explorations and Field Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1922*, it is said that — "At the town of Tuxecan an observer in 1916 counted 125 poles standing. In 1922, only 50 were left ..." (Cf. the Rev. John C. Goodfellow. 52: 44).

**Painted House-front and Doorway Carvings**

**Native Paints** of the north Pacific Coast Indians, as described by A. P. Niblack, about 1885 (78: 319).

The different kinds of paints used by the Indians in this region are charcoal; roasted and burnt fungus; white, red, and brown ochres; lignite, cinnamon, berry juice, spruce sap, and various other kinds of vegetable compounds. For tattooing and painting the face and body black, charcoal and lignite are used. Oil is mixed with all paints used on the body. Where lignite is used on wood or for other purposes of a permanent nature, it is ground dry with salmon eggs, first having been chewed with cedar bark. This gives consistency to the paint and makes it stick well. A fungoid growth from the hemlock tree by various treatment becomes yellow, red, or black. When decayed to a powdery consistency, it is yellow; when roasted, it is red; and when charred, black. The Chilkat get the brilliant yellow for their blankets from a kind of moss called *sekhone*.

**Painting on Poles and House Fronts**, according to Lieut. G. T. Emmons (47: 284).

Carving was largely dependent upon painting for its best effects. Although the older totem poles, house and grave posts may show the natural wood surface, yet practically all show evidence of colour even in their decay. It is a question whether painting did not antedate carving, being so much simpler in labour and material. The painting of the house front of the northern people was always in the animal crest and might present a realistically natural or highly conventional form. In either case the figure was outlined in black, and red and blue-green were introduced in decorative faces, eyes, and even foreign figures, to represent the bone structure or to fill up vacant spaces. Interior paintings were much the same, although in some cases they elaborated detail to tell some incident in the family history.

**House-front Paintings** on the north Pacific Coast. Lieut. G. T. Emmons (47: 283–292) gives information and illustrations of a number of important mural paintings of this type, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Killer-Whale Painting on a Grave House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indian Chief's House at Tuxecan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Old House of the Northern Kwakiutl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A Lost Landmark of Skidegate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. In the Bella Coola District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Characteristic Art of the Northwest Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. An Interior Screen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. House Crest Representing a Halibut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. An Eagle House Crest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Killer-Whale Crest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**How Totem Poles were painted**, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 76).

Totem poles were painted with a type of fish-egg tempera, consisting of a mineral pigment mixed with a mordant of fresh salmon eggs and saliva. The colours originally were red, black, and apple green. The red was obtained from hematite, the black from graphite and carbon, and the apple green from various copper ores common in the region. For many years commercial paints have been used, but none achieve the soft, flat tones of the native paint seen to-day only in a few well-preserved interior house pillars.
Painted houses among the Tlingits, according to tales recorded in English by J. R. Swanton at Wrangell, Alaska (119a: 132).

By and by the chief’s daughter was missed, and they hunted for her through all of the houses, but they did not look into the old brush house, for they thought she would never go there... The following morning, they saw a beautifully painted house standing where the brush house had been.

The man’s sister told him that he was staying there a little too long, and he started back toward his village. As he went he looked back, and there was nothing to be seen but land-otter holes. Before, they had appeared like painted houses. Then he returned to his own place with all kinds of food given him by the land-otters.

House-front paintings (neksugyet) among the Tsimsyans on lower Skeena River, according to Herbert Wallace, Raven head-chief of the Gitsees tribe, an old man; interpreter, William Beynon, 1926.

1. The Gyaibelk, a mythological bird or insect with a long beak and wings spread out, decorating the house front of Skagwait, Eagle chief of the Ginarhangeek tribe. It covered the whole width and height of the house front—a very large painting. It had been painted by Galksek of the Gitsees tribe near the mouth of the Skeena. Skagwait sold this front to a purchaser from the United States about 1900. The informant had seen it.

2. Where-Spawning (wilmees), another front painting of the house of Alimlarhse (Killer-Whale of the Ginarhangeek tribe). A number of copper shields were represented in it. There was a great controversy between the Ginarhangeek and the Gilodzar tribes as to its ownership. And the Gilodzar also had a similar house-front decoration. Neeskwaladzih, an Eagle of the Gitamat tribe to the south, had painted it some time before the birth of the informant, who saw it. It was removed about 1875, shortly after the last smallpox epidemic.

3. The Raven with a long bill protruding, in front of the house of Kalksek (Raven of the household of Neesyaranaet of the Gitsees tribe), and with wings spread out the width of the house. Painted by a craftsman of the Gitandaw tribe. Removed before the smallpox epidemic (about 1870).

4. Where-stands-the-Bear (wilhatkhil-sami) painted on the house front of Kaltk (Wolf of the Gitsees tribe). It also displayed the Crane (kaskaws) and the Wolf (gibceo), the crests of this household. Painted by Kalksek. It disappeared at the time of the same epidemic.

5. The Blackfish (‘narhl) or Killer-Whale represented as covering the whole front of Watidarh (Killer-Whale, Gitsees tribe). Painted by Kalksek. Washed away with the house by a flood at the time of the epidemic.

6. The Spread-Eagle of the house of Neeskudzawlk (Eagle, Gitsees tribe). The outspread wings covered the whole front. Painted by Kalksek. It disappeared at the same time as the others.

7. The Supernatural-Halibut (narhnarm-trhao) on the house front of Neeskunes (Eagle, Gitsees tribe). It covered the whole width of the front. Heads were painted all along its backbone. Painted by Kalksek. It disappeared at the same time as those above.
House-front painting among the Tlingits of southern Alaska
House-front paintings among the Tlingits
All the Gitsees houses had the privilege of painting and exhibiting their inherited crests on their house fronts. So had the other Tsimsyan tribes: the Gitzarhlah, the Ginarhangook, the Gitwilgyawts, the Gisparhlawts. The Gitlæn and the Gitwilgyawts tribes possessed a great many, as did the island or sea-coast tribe of Gitrhaha.

In the old days, house-front paintings were more numerous than totem poles; they were also more important. These painted fronts were real crest boards, whereas the poles (ptsen) were only commemorations.

**House-front paintings at Gitsalas**, house-front paintings of Neestarhawq, Gispewudwade chief (Tsimsyan) of Gitsalas at the canyon of Skeena River. He belonged to the Gilarhdza>rh tribe.

*Description.* The Blackfish or Killer-Whale or Delphinus-Orca (*nærhl*), the Sun (*gyæmks*), and the Rainbow (*marhai*), once were all three used as house-front paintings.

(Informant, Walter Geo. Wright, the present NeestarHawq, in 1927. William Beynon recorded this information.)

**Why the Gitandaw have house fronts painted**, according to a Haida tradition reported on by J. R. Swanton (97: 218, 219).

A boy and his grandmother were abandoned by the rest of their family, but they were given food by a Skunk-Cabbage. One day some one came in and stole the fish they had dried. The boy, however, filled his body with arrows and in the morning set out in pursuit. Guiding himself by the arrows that had been pulled out, he came at last to a village of the "Carpenters" (U'alagang), whose houses were all carved and painted. There he learned that it was a slave of the town chief whom he had wounded, and the one who, in the shape of a Skunk-Cabbage, had furnished him food. After he had returned home, he fed an eagle, who also fed him in return, and he became very rich. One day after this, two slaves belonging to his uncles came to visit him, and he fed them. He would not let them take any food away, but one of them concealed a piece inside her dress. When her child choked by it that evening, the people discovered how their relative had prospered. Then they went to him, but he only honoured the youngest of his uncles, whose daughter had treated him well. He married. Because he visited the Carpenters, the Gitandaw have the fronts of their houses painted.

**House-front paintings in a Gitksan myth.** Paintings with the Sun, Rainbow, Stars, and other crests in a Gitksan myth of the Tsimsyans.

(The extract of the long narrative recorded in several versions up Skeena River is reproduced from the author's "The Downfall of Temlaham," pp. 203, 204):

As a last endowment to the eldest of his grandsons, the Sun Father erected for him a house of cedar on the heights facing his lodge, saying, "Its sacred name shall be Gustatkeeya — Garment-come-down (from the sky to shelter your lives). It shall belong to your posterity throughout the ages." And he painted human faces in red and yellow ochre around its walls for a symbol and a memorial.

Alongside he built the house of Gustarhl, Garment-of-Rainbow, the front of which he ornamented with the colours of the rainbow. He gave it to Sling-Shot as his own crest and habitation.

To the third house he gave the name of Guspiyals, Robe-of-Stars, and cut an opening above its front door so that the outsiders would recognize the star as they went by, when the fire was lit inside at night, and say: "Here is Andeesem's Star-House."

The house of the fourth grandson received the name of Gus-kalsrait, Garment like the hat of Darkness, and its walls were decorated with dull brown faces representing shadows at night.
Painted house front of the Kwakiutls at Fort Rupert
His granddaughters received from his hands the lodges known henceforth as Tsenawsuh, the Caterpillar house, and Huktasneks, Rain falling-like-a-mist-while-the-sun-shines; on their walls appeared the coloured profiles of caterpillars and of clouds pouring rain in showers.

The Sun Father on the evening of the last day sat down to the Feast of Farewell with his daughter-in-law and his grandchildren. Presenting Skawah with a kalenk, a tray full of small spoons made from the horns of the mountain goat and the mountain sheep, he declared, “This is the end of your last day in the Sky. You shall re-enter the land of your destinies before dawn.” For their last meal together they partook of the fruit of the wild crab-apple, preserved in a food-box with the oil of the candle-fish.

“Offspring of the rays of my crown you are,” he said to his grandchildren, “no less than of a race of mortals now all but extinct that once throve on the banks of the Skeena. When
you fix your abode among the people that live and die, it shall not be without a token of my protection." Turning to the house of Daran-wilget he painted on its front a round disk in bright colour, saying, "Gyamk, the Sun, shall be the emblem of your posterity." Then he painted on the house fronts of Sling-Shot and Andeesem the signs that have remained their descendant's property to this day: Makay and Piyals — the Rainbow and the Stars. Upon the left-handed Ligi-yuwen he conferred the Larbaum, the Sky-Vault, with bird-like features that indicate noble extraction.

When it was accomplished, he uttered the memorable edict, "These shall be your crests to the end of time. The people at their sight will revere your presence and acknowledge your rights."

**Painted Houses of Hale**, a Gispewudwade chief of the Gitrhahla tribe of the coast Tsimsyans.

One of the former community houses of Hale was called the Star-House, because stars, a crest of the owner, were represented in the house front, cut into the wall.

The light (lar'haum) crest of the owner was painted inside in the form of straight blue bands, wing-like, across the whole back of the house. Underneath was painted a representation of the world by means of a band of various colours.

Another house called Gyagem-walp showed in paint four phases of the moon, the first quarter, etc. The full moon was the central figure, the last quarter the fourth. The Thunderbird (Kaleplip), with bill curved back and huge wings spread out, was painted outside on the huge house front.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

**Mural carving and painting at Gitrhahla** in the house of Harhtsar-hawnktk, Kanhade of the Gitrhahla tribe of the coast Tsimsyans.

*Description.* Inside the house, the Whole-Raven and Bullhead (here called To-Support) crests of this family were carved and painted. A very old piece, it rotted away and was destroyed only recently. Another name of the first of these two crests was Split-Raven (ptahlkem-qaeq). It was also a house-front painting. The informant saw it still in existence about sixty years before 1939 — that is, about 1880.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, old chief of Gitrhahla; William Beynon, 1939.)

**House paintings of Where-Opens-the-Sky** (wu'l'nakarh-larhae) of Mawdzem-laxtaeo, chief of a Wolf clan in the Gitrhahla tribe of the coast Tsimsyans. It no longer exists. This house was also called Growling-of-the-Wolf (leenhlkem-walp).

*Description.* The name of this house came from a painting at the rear of the house, which was meant to represent a hole in the sky. It was a person with a shining glass-like nose or bill, known as Tsakaotkwah. Around the house, a cedar-bark rope held up a number of small carved bodies of people whose name was Split-Persons (isekaosemgyet). These figures illustrated a long myth belonging to the household.

The outside of the house was decorated with carved heads of the Wolf snarling, fourteen in all — four across the front, four at the back, and the
House front of the Koskimo at Quatsino Sound, Nootka
rest on both sides just a little above the ground. These heads seemed to be sticking from inside the house.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

**Painted house fronts among the Kwakiutls,** showing the Thunderbird above the door and the Sun on each side of the doorway, at the Columbian Exhibition, Chicago (1893), as described by James Deans, (36: 95).

Instead of erecting totem posts, these people generally paint their crests on the front of their houses. The paintings on this one represent the Sun on each side of the doorway, with the Thunderbird above the door. This is the style of this bird, as is shown by these people. This house, the notice on side of the wall says, belonged to the Nu-enshu clan of the Quackuhls on Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

**The Killer-Whale at Lirhsiwæ,** a Kwakiutl village, as described by Dr. Franz Boas (21: 382).

A Killer-Whale was the painting on the house front. Gulls were sitting on the roof. Various kinds of carvings were in the house.

**Painted house fronts of the Kwakiutls,** showing the Thunderbird, the Thunderbird lifting the Whale, the Sun, the Moon, the Bears, and the Sea Lion, as described by Dr. Franz Boas (21: 375, 376).

The house front of the clan Gerhsem of the Lalasiqoala represents the Thunderbird squatting over the door, and the sun at each side. Although the former belongs to the Gerhsem, the sun was obtained from the clan Qomkutis of the Goasila. The house front of the clan Gighqam of the same tribe shows the bears on each side of the door, which are the crest of this clan, and which was obtained by their ancestor Kuerhagila. Around the door is the crest of the mother of the house owner, who belonged to the Goasila tribe. It represents the Moon, Galoyaqame ("the Very First One"). The ancestor of the clan was taken up to the Moon by Galoyaqame. The house front of the clan Gighqam of the Nimkish represents the Thunderbird lifting a whale, which is its food, from out of the water. According to the clan tradition, the Gighqam are the descendants of the Thunderbird. This house front was excellently painted, but has been whitewashed, owing to the misplaced zeal of a missionary. The beak was carved and fastened to the house front. The owner had one of his coppers tied to the pole on top of the house. A house post represents a Sea-Lion. I was not able to learn to what clan it belongs. It is found in a house at Rhumtaspe. The owner belongs to the clan Gerhsem of the Naqomgilisala. The carving is said to have come from Yaqalmala (Hope Island), which is the territory of the Lalasiqoala. When the Naqomgilisala moved to the present village of Newettee they brought it with them.

**Crests painted on house fronts of the Kwakiutls,** seen by the author at the Field Museum of Natural History, in 1915.

The following labels accompanied each of them:


2. House crest. The design is the Thunderbird eating a giant sculpin. At the top are two whales. Kwakiutl, Vancouver.

3. House crest. On the horizontal plank is the double-headed snake Sisiutl. On the upright ones the upper figures are human; the lower, grizzly bears. Kwakiutl, Fort Rupert.

4. House crest. The two circular designs represent suns. Between them is the Killer-Whale. On the door and beneath are two grizzly bears. Kwakiutl, Vancouver. (The last three are very large wall panels.)
5. House crest of the Giglignam clan, Nimkish tribe. The design is the Thunderbird eating the whale. Kwakiutl.

House-front paintings among the Coast Salishes, recorded by Dr. Franz Boas (19: 408–412).

Figure 1. House front of the gens Tokoais (two Killer-Whales painted face to face on the upper part of the house front).

Figure 2 (p. 410). House front of the gens Tlak’aumoot, representing the Moon.

The crest is represented in paintings on the house front and on dancing implements. The gens Tokoais has a Killer-Whale painted on the house front (Figure 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens, when hunting in the mountains one day, found a house on which a Killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him to enter and presented him with a crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the Killer-Whale, Eagle, swan, and heron (p. 411).

The gens Spatsatlt have breakers painted on the house front . . . (p. 412).

The gens Salostimot of the Taliohi use the raven, robin, eagle, whale, the bird Tehtlala, and Satlsaots, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house front and the nusqemta suspended from the beams of the roof (p. 412).

The highest gens of Nutlaik has the name Smooen (the north wind). They have the mountain Suwakh, surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on the house front (Figure 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves (p. 412).

MONUMENTAL CARVINGS

Classification, among the Haidas, by George M. Dawson (30: 148B).

The peculiar carved pillars which have been generally referred to as carved posts are broadly divided into two classes, known as kerhen and rhat. One of the former stands in front of every house, and through the base, in most instances, there is the oval hole which serves as a door. The latter (rhat) are posts erected in memory of the dead.

The kerhen are generally from 30 to 50 feet in height, with a width of 3 feet or more at the base, and tapering slightly upwards. They are hollowed behind in the manner of a trough, to make them light enough to be set and maintained in place without much difficulty. These posts are generally covered with grotesque figures, closely grouped together, from base to summit. They include the totem of the owner, and a striking similarity is often apparent between the posts of a single village. Comparatively little variation from the general type is allowed in the kerhen, whereas in those posts erected in memory of the dead, and all I believe called rhat, much greater diversity of design obtains. These posts are generally in the villages, standing on the narrow border of land between the houses and the beach, but in no determinate relation to the buildings. A common form consists of a stout, plain, upright post, round in section, and generally tapering slightly downwards, with one side of the top flattened and a broad signboard-like square of hewn cedar planks affixed to it. This may be painted, decorated with some raised design, or to it may be affixed one of the much prized ‘coppers’ which has belonged to the deceased. In other cases the upright post is carved more or less elaborately. Another form consists of a round, upright post with a carved eagle at the summit. Still others, carved only at the base, run up into a long round post with incised rings at regular intervals. Two round posts are occasionally placed close together, with a large horizontal painted slab between them, or a massive beam, which appears in some instances to be excavated to hold the body. These memorial posts are generally less in height than the door posts.

Types of carved poles, according to J. R. Swanton (97: 122).

It is said that formerly planks for the front and rear walls of houses, instead of being run in slots, were laid upon the ground, fastened together with cedar withes, and raised into their places in one piece. There were no house poles; but the front of the house itself was carved, or a heavy carved plank or block of wood was fastened to the house front. In course of time this plank was increased in height, and evolved into the house pole that formed until recently a distinctive feature of all the principal houses in this region. Although in some instances the house fronts, the projecting ends of the roof-timbers, and the corner posts were carved even after the introduction of the high house pole or “totem post,”
Graves and graveyard posts of the Tsimshians and Haidas
the decorations of this pole were always most significant and were considered of great importance. In houses of wealthy chiefs the inside house posts and the screens at the rear were also carved.

Speaking generally, there were two varieties of house poles — the ones that merely bore crests and those that illustrated some story.

In the former class, crests belonging to the family of the house-owner and to that of his wife were usually placed together upon the pole, although occasionally all the crests were taken from one family; but there was no fixed rule for the order in which these should be arranged.

**Totem poles and mortuary columns**, a general definition by A. P. Niblack (78: 324, 327; Plate LV).

Amongst the Tlingit the phratry totem often surmounts the column with the clan and other totem represented below it. None but the wealthy can afford to erect these carved columns. (Page 324)

**Mortuary columns.** A broad distinction is drawn here between columns that in themselves form a mode of sepulture and those which are commemorative and erected at some distance from the site of the grave in which the body is interred.

These are erected usually near the corner of the house at one side and consist, as a rule, of a short stout post or column surmounted by a carved representation of the crest or totem of the deceased. The erection of these columns takes place at the ceremony known as the "glorification or elevation of the dead." After the body has been entombed, it is incumbent on the heir of the deceased, if the latter has been a person of any importance, to make a feast and erect one of these commemorative columns. In the southern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands a very common form of this column is a short stout post with a signboard-like square formed of split planks carved on the outer face. This kind is rare to the north, and not seen at all amongst the Kaigani, so far as known to the writer.

**Types of carved columns**, according to W. A. Newcombe (76: C8, C10; 9 plates).

Totem poles have been grouped into the following classes: "The Memorial," a crest pole erected by the heirs of the deceased; the chief type of the Tsimshian. Among the Haida, though they had many of this kind, the "house frontal" poles were found in greater numbers; the carvings either denoting crests or characters in stories. A hole about 2 by 3 feet was often made at the base which served as the only entrance to the house. A Haida custom was also the use of "mortuary poles;" these were solid logs sometimes over 4 feet in diameter, about 30 feet high. At the top, in front, a section was removed to receive the coffin. Wide horizontal boards, often carved, were fastened over this opening. The carvings represented the crests of the deceased. A fourth group, the carved inside house supports; these, together with various forms of grave figures (often called totem poles), were formerly used over a much greater area than the memorial and house frontal poles.

The inside-house poles were found in most of the Coast villages from Victoria, B.C., to Lynn Canal, Alaska. In the north many were elaborately carved with the crests of the owner or occasionally illustrated legends. Among the Kwakiutl they were heraldic, referring to the traditions of the house-owner; those of the Salish and Nootkan, if carved at all, represented an event that had happened to the owner.

The grave figures have been noted from Washington State to the Yukon, those used by the Interior Salish and Déné as well as the Coast Salish generally taking a human form; though among the northern coast tribes large carvings of animals or birds served the same purpose.

**Kaigani mortuary columns** at Kasaan, Prince of Wales Island, described by A. P. Niblack (78: Plate LXIV, figure 341).

With compartment boarded up. This contains the remains of the dead in a box, and represents a departure from cremation to inhumation, or aerial sepulture, in imitation of the former custom of thus depositing the cremated remains.

**Memorial poles among the Tlingits**, according to J. R. Swanton (119a: 374).
Some morning just at daylight, the chief who is about to erect the pole and give the feast, no matter how great a chief he is, passes along in front of the houses of the town, singing mourning songs for the dead. Then the people know what is wrong and feel badly for him. The memorial pole seems to bring every recollection of the dead back to him. Now is the time when the story of Raven is used.

Speeches made when the pole is erected (Pp. 374 . . .

Types of totem poles among the Tlingits, as described by Livingston F. Jones (59: 176, 177).

Of these (poles) “there are four classes — the genealogical, historical (or commemorative), legendary, and memorial (or mortuary).

The genealogical pole is usually erected directly in front of its owner’s house and, as the name indicates, gives the genealogy of the family. The wife’s totem crowns the top, next the husband’s, and so on down. Any native walking along and seeing the pole can tell at a glance the clan of the mother, which is the ruling one of the house. From this he will know whether or not he would be welcome to enter and stay there. If the ruling family of the house is not of his totem he passes on. As he reads on down the pole, he learns the totemic connections of the entire household.

The historic or commemorative pole, as the term implies, recounts some special and important event (as regarded by the owner of the pole) in the history of the particular family or the chieftain of the house. Usually such events as thrilling conflicts with man and beast, and courageous triumphs are chronicled on these monuments for the consideration of future generations.

The legendary pole, as the term indicates, relates some happy legend particularly prized by the clan of the one who has erected it. Not only are there legends, but songs, that are peculiar to each clan, and the members or votaries of one clan are not allowed to use the legends and songs of the others.

The memorial or mortuary pole, as may be inferred from the term, is a monument erected in the burial-ground to the memory of the dead. It usually carries the single image of the patron animal of the deceased. When cremation was the universal custom of disposing of the dead, cavities were made in the back of the mortuary tablets in which to deposit the ashes of the deceased.

As soon as burial became the general custom, the totem pole began to decline, and to-day there are practically no totem pole builders, and no new ones are erected.

Totem poles vary in height from a few feet to fifty or more. They are usually very costly, not because of their intrinsic, but for their sentimental value. In some instances they are valued at $3,000 or $4,000 each.

Grave posts among the Haidas, as described by George M. Dawson (30: 133 B).

After the body has been entombed it becomes necessary sooner or later, if the deceased has been a person of any importance in the tribe, to erect a carved post. The Indians again collect for this purpose, and are repaid by a distribution of property, made by the brother of the deceased or other relative to whom his estate has come down as next in order of descent. The post erected, though sometimes equally ponderous with the carved posts of the houses, is not generally so elaborate. In many cases it consists of a plain upright, tapering slightly toward the lower end or that inserted in the ground, whereas the upper bears a broad board, on which some design is carved or painted, or any ‘coppers’ formerly belonging to the dead man are attached.

Types of totem poles, as classified by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 41).

The six types in order of their probable development are: (1) The house pillar and false house pillar; (2) Mortuary pole; (3) Memorial pole; (4) Heraldic pole; (5) Potlatch pole; (6) Ridicule pole.

Inside house posts among the Tlingit, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 43).

Owing to the fact that the house pillars were indoors and therefore protected from the
elements, many of them of considerable age are still preserved and intact in the native villages.

At Klukwan, seat of the Chilkats, no less than four houses still retain their house posts, although the houses themselves are now of modern construction. In the "Whale House" are four handsome posts ... in the native section, although this fact is not generally known, even to resident Sitkans. These pillars are beautifully inlaid with blue-green abalone shell, and in some cases decorated with human hair and ermine. At Wrangell, in the rehabilitated Chief Shakes community house are four house posts from an earlier house at Old Wrangell or Kotslitian. It was once considered a chiefly act to chop a figure from one of these priceless pillars, and one of the Wrangell pillars has been thus defaced. To the natives, a post thus disfigured increased in value, and the owner gained importance by his vandalism.

**Types of Haida totem poles**, according to Charlie Gladstone, an old carver of Skidegate (1939), a nephew of Charles Edensaw, the reputed Haida carver of the former generation.

The hollow-back totem poles were called *gyalken*; the round poles, *rhaat*.

**Names for totem poles among the Niskæ**, according to Dennis Woods, of Gitlarhdamks.

*Kan* is the name applied to a solid stick or pole, uncarved. *Ptse̱n* is the word referring to a hollowed back or a carved pole.

**Tlingit name for totem pole**, according to L. Jones (59: 169).

The native name for totem is *Ko-tea*, meaning image or likeness.

**Comparisons between Tsimsyans and Haidas.**

The Haidas mixed their crests on their totem poles, but the Tsimsyans never did, using only their own crests.

(Informant H. Wallace, chief of the Gitsees tribe at Port Simpson; interpreter, J. Ryan, 1915.)

**Definition of totem pole** by the Rev. G. H. Raley (118: 5–7).

What is a totem-pole?

It is a tall pole, cut from a carefully selected cedar tree, and could be described as the text-book of a primitive people, who, having no written language of their own, communicated to posterity their crests, genealogy, history, and traditions by carving and painting, using representative symbols, chiefly animal designs, in doing so. To those who understand, these symbols relate to an age when all nature appealed to man in terms of human endeavour, and animals could think men's thoughts and perform men's actions and were referred to as human protectors. That is, man believed in dual personality.

Although there is a religious element in totemism, there is little or none to the totem pole, and it is a mistake to think of them as idols. So far as can be ascertained they were never worshipped as gods. They were revered because some of the crests were symbols of guardian spirits.

The totem pole would be unintelligible unless we connected it with the social system of which it is the manifestation. These tall monuments were not common to every man, but to the nobility and gentry, as it were, for the class barrier amongst the Indians was as distinct as in any land. They had their "Who's Who" and were a people of clans and crests. The hereditary chiefs were as dominating a power as any Scottish chieftains and had rights in their clans according to a well-defined order of precedence. Crests convey the idea of heraldry, and within limits, the totem pole is a heraldic column in that it records crests, genealogy, historic events, and legends.

There were two main types of totem poles. The house post, which proclaimed the social standing of the chief or head of the house, was attached to the front of the building, and an egg-shaped entrance, sufficiently large to admit one person at a time, was cut
through the foot of the pole. The other type was the memorial pole; this had a double significance. Its erection meant a memorial to a deceased chief when the days of mourning were ended. "The drying of tears," it was called. At the same time it was the public proclamation of his successor. The accession of the new chief was acclaimed by the assembled tribes. "The chief is dead. Long live the chief!"

**Definition of totem pole**, given by Mrs. Alfred Dudoward, a tribal leader at Port Simpson, in 1915.

The totems are monuments to the dead. A chief may have all his crests displayed on his pole. For a pole has no other purpose than just for the dead.

When a chief passes away, his successor will put up a monument or a totem pole in his memory.

**Stone pillar of Gitsalas** (*ptəwənem-ləwp*) at the Fortress (*ta'awdzep*) at the canyon of Skeena River, according to Herbert Wallace of Port Simpson, interpreted by William Beynon, in 1926.

Planted on the inner side of the rocky ridge forming the fortress, it still stands in memory of the extinct household of Neestsee or Tzehln, an Eagle family living here before the coming of the Gitrhawn or Salmon-Eater group of Eagles from the Haida country. These earlier Eagles possessed the same myth of migration from the north as Gitrhawn. According to the tradition, this monolithic pillar was brought over from farther up the river by the niece who was to succeed the chief. In this enterprise she was assisted by the people on both sides of the river at the canyon. This stone once was the object of a war between the Gitsalas and the Tsimsyans who tried to acquire it. The pillar, still to be seen, is only the smaller part of the whole, as it is gradually sinking into the ground.

**Models of poles and posts among the Haidas**, reproducing actual heraldic carvings among the Haidas, as shown and explained by J. R. Swanton (97: 122-135).

A considerable number of examples given here throw much light on Haida totem poles and house posts. These models were carved for Dr. Swanton at his request to illustrate the subject which he was studying from 1900 to 1901 with native informants.

**Substitutes for totem poles**, marble and granite monuments, according to Mrs. Viola E. Garfield (50: 212).

There has been a tendency to substitute other forms of ostensible display for totem poles. Marble and granite stones have replaced them to some extent, particularly as monuments. There are three such monuments in Port Simpson, erected in the village on property occupied by the chiefs whom they were set up to honour. These are not always grave markers, though stone has largely replaced the wooden mortuary posts familiar in native burial grounds of the last century. Flagstaffs have been raised as substitutes for totem poles and with similar ceremonies. A chief at Klemtu, Tsimshian village on Swindle Island, had a concrete pavement laid in front of his house, with appropriate ceremony, and announced that according to new customs totem poles were no longer being set up, and he was taking this means of showing his wealth and perpetuating the memory of himself and his ancestors.

In 1929, Alimlarhe, sub-chief of the Ginarhangik tribe, and his two brothers gave a flagpole-raising ceremony, endeavouring to observe the old traditions of totem pole raising as far as possible without incurring the criticism of the Indian agent. The man for whom this pole was raised had been dead over twenty years when the brothers decided to honour his memory. Alimlarhe, a nephew, had taken the name and position at his uncle's death, along with the land rights, including hunting, berry, and fishing grounds on Skeena River.
The hunting grounds were the exclusive property of Alimlarhæ. He opposed the ceremony on the grounds that totem poles are a relic of their past that they should forget, but was overruled by the other lineage members and his tribesmen.

The brothers prepared the pole themselves, and collected the food and gifts required for their potlatch, with the aid of lineage relatives and their tribesmen. Their father assisted them with a money contribution. When they were ready, the entire village was invited to lift the pole into place. A spokesman for Alimlarhæ told the guests of the crests and privileges of his lineage and announced that the pole was to be named the 'Pole of the Sand Place,' commemorating one of the exclusive crests of the chief's lineage which had appeared on totem poles belonging to his ancestors.

TOTEM CARVERS, TECHNIQUE

A Tlingit totem pole carver

Types of carvers among the Kitka'ata Tsimsyans of the sea-coast south of Skeena River, according to H. L. Clifton, chief at Kitka'ata; interpreter, William Beynon, in 1939.

There were two divisions of carvers, first the Gitsontk (People-secluded), who carved nothing but narhmorkh, spirits, and worked in utter secrecy; second, the ordinary carvers, who carved crests.

I. The Gitsontk were specially trained for their secret calling. If any outsider unexpectedly came upon them while they were at work, the only outcome was death for the intruder. The Gitsontk also had charge of manipulating the spirit when it was brought out in a public ceremony. No mistake could be tolerated, and the penalty for any lapse was the same.

Occasionally the Gitsontk were engaged by a foreign tribe. For instance, a reputed secret carver of Alaska might be hired by the Bella-Bellas to
the south of the Tsimsyan country, or by any other tribe, and for his services he would receive a heavy compensation. At one time a famous narhnorh invented by a Wudstæ (a tribe at the frontier between the Tsimsyans and the northern Kwakiutls) was a huge wooden whale that was made to swim, dive, and spout. This unwieldy contrivance, used at night, in the flickering light of fires on the shore, or by moonlight, successfully moved at first, but finally the fastenings operating it fell undone and almost killed the people inside it. The Wudstæ Gitsontk operating the whale immediately committed suicide by jumping into the sea. They could not survive after what had happened.

The powers, skill, and training of the Gitsontk were inherited or reserved within certain families. Their privileges were controlled by various secret societies with which they associated, and whose diffusion centre lay on the sea coast south of the Tsimsyan country. Khlwvalæ and Rlkyadet, two outstanding early Gitsontks, came from the south. Yællem was another famous craftsman of their class.

As a group, the Gitsontk gave secret advice to the chiefs who belonged to the inner councils. A few of them usually were selected from each household to train under the supervision of two or three experienced carvers. For instance, among the Tsimsyans (according to William Beynon), one of the best Gitsontk was Næesloop (a Gispewudwade of the Gnaïhdoiks tribe); another was Næeslaranows, Wolf chief of the Gitlæn tribe. They were employed by most of the chiefs to construct and superintend the narhnorh or spirit displays. The Gitsontk carved the masks, which on the whole fell into their reserved lot.

II. The totem pole carvers, called ukgyihlæ, were not considered as important as the first class; their calling was to produce crests and totems. As there was no secrecy to their work, they could not carve narhnorhs.

Practically all of both classes of carvers have disappeared many years ago among the Kitka'ata, and the informant found it difficult to recall the names of any of them. Finally he brought out the name of Næesnamo, a Kanhade, as a maker of totem poles, whom he had not known, but whose carvings he had seen.

At Kitka'ata there are no totem poles left; they have fallen from old age and decay, the last one about 1933. They were tall but not elaborately carved. One of them was the Fireweed pole, another the Whale; a third, the Asewaelgyet (Thunderbird); a fourth, the Raven; a fifth, the Eagle. Each of them, away from the house front, was 30 or 40 feet tall; the Fireweed was close to 50 feet. In the Eagle house, house posts supporting the roof beams inside were carved in the form of human figures and bore the name of Packing-on-shoulder (kalkawldzerh).

Salmon Brown, a Wolf of the Gitrhahla tribe not far off, was the only good carver of totem poles whom Clifton could name. He was the maker of the Bullhead pole of Gitrhahla, about 1915 or 1920, a pole still in good condition. Brown died about 1934.

The informant does not clearly remember any house-front painting in his neighbourhood, although he saw, when young, a wall decoration of his uncle's with two Blackfish — just a vague recollection. When he was born, the people had already done away with ancient customs.
How a Haida pole was made, according to James Deans, in “Tales of the Hidery” (36: 19, 20).

The most important part of a house was the gayring or carved column, totem post as it is generally named. In order to have one, the first act was for a party to go into the woods and select a tree of a given size, as near as possible to the sea. When a suitable one was found, it was cut down and hewn to certain dimensions; then it was slid into the water, where a party was in waiting in a canoe, who hauled it to the village and put it on shore. On shore, it went into the hands of the carvers, who hewed it into shape, then marked one side of it into sections. The average height of these columns was 30 feet, divided into five sections of 0 feet each. For carving each of these sections, ten blankets were paid, or, in all, fifty blankets. These blankets were bought by the bale for not less than five dollars a blanket, which would make two hundred and fifty dollars for each post. Generally the party who carved one section, say the lower, was not allowed to carve the next, unless his social standing allowed him to do so. In like manner, through all the five sections different carvers were employed. When finished, all the villagers helped to raise it. If they were unable to do so, help was secured from another village. If a man happened to die while his house was in course of erection, nothing more was done to it. At Skidegate I saw a column lying rotting, which had been ready for the carver when the owner died.

The old house with totem at Kayan (near Massett), described by J. R. Swanton (97: 134, 135, Plate XI, Figure 1).

Plate XI. Figure 1, gives an idea of the framework of an old house. It stood at the town of Qayan, just above Massett. In 1901 the frame was gone, but the pole, although much decayed, was still standing.

Selection and carving of a pole among the Haidas. The carving of a hollow-back portal or totem pole, according to Edward Russ of Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, in 1947; interpreter, William Russ.

(Taken from a long narrative bearing on the origin of a northern group of Haidas, now of Massett, from Hippah Island on the northwestern side of the Queen Charlotte Islands.)

Ot’iwans came from Neesto on the west coast, first to Kiusta, then to Yan (opposite Ad’iwas, now called Massett). . . He took an axe, came over to Aden River, and looked for a cedar from which to make a canoe. The first day, he did not find any suitable, although he covered much ground going through these woods for the first time. The second day, in the morning, his wife gave him advice. She told him that her uncles used to point out how to look for cedars, that is, to walk along the edge of a river when engaged in this search.

That day, following her advice, he walked along Aden River and found two cedars which he thought were good ones. One was about 5 fathoms long, the other 4 fathoms. He marked the trees (to make them his own) and did not otherwise touch them. But, after he had returned home, his wife told him a story that she had learned from her uncles. Before starting to chop down a tree, one must find out whether it is sound. This is done by cutting into the heart of the tree. Before this, you must find a yew wood hlaat tree, cut a bit out of its heart, and place this piece in your mouth on the right side, and keep it there while searching out the heart of the cedar tree.

Ot’iwans did not succeed in finding a young yew wood tree the first day. He used a young hemlock (qang) instead, and took a piece out of its heart. Having gone back to the cedar trees he had marked, he began to chop one down, but found that in the trunk there was a hole (perhaps a large knot hole). So he gave it up. Besides, the tree was hollow inside. In the old days, to be a good canoe carpenter, one had to use medicine (the interpreter called it “dope”) for the hands and fingers. Ot’iwans at first had forgotten
this precaution. Looking at the tree he had wasted his efforts on, he thought that he could still make a totem pole out of it. His uncles were good totem pole carvers. Although he had not yet tried his hand at a totem pole, he knew that a cedar tree unfit for making a dug-out canoe might serve another purpose.

He then began to work on the other tree, planning a four-fathom dugout. While thus busy, he kept thinking of the first cedar tree. It would be good for a totem. When he came back home to his wife, he told her that he would consult his Neesto uncles the next day about the larger tree. His wife asked to go with him in order to learn how to build a canoe and carve a
totem pole. She suspected that, alone, her husband might overlook some important detail, for he still had much to learn before completing a good first canoe. His uncles asked him what he intended to do with the canoe: "What model of a canoe do you have in mind? . . ." (then a long explanation followed as to the types of dug-out, their names, and other particulars). It required a whole night for his uncles to show him the way to make a canoe and how to doctor his hands with Indian medicine in preparation for the work. There was no time then to learn in detail about the carving of totem poles. But the idea of carving a pole had suddenly occurred to him. From the time he built his first canoe he intended to find out from his uncles all they knew about carving totem poles, for it was customary for uncles to train their nephews in woodcraft.

After his canoe was made, he moved with his wife to Yan. It was then the season during which he sold his garden produce (potatoes). Meanwhile he could not forget the large cedar tree with a hollow heart he had cut down on Aden River.

Later on, he hired another clan to work on his totem, to carve it for him and to make the foundation, rafters, and other parts of the house. This part of the work had to be done by the "opposites" (that is the clan of the father). When they were dragging the hollow totem cedar, he had the bark peeled off, to be used for the roof of the house; two hundred pieces of cedar bark (laqaweklahl). Another clan was engaged to dig the grades (lara) or underground steps for the structure. Altogether, three clans were employed for the undertaking. Others, meanwhile, toiled at gathering the foods required for the feast to follow . . . When everything was ready, all were assembled at Yan village for the erection of the building, which was about 100 feet long, and the pole. A big celebration followed. Once the work was finished, Ot'iwans paid off his workmen and carpenters. For this, a whole day was required. His uncles suggested a name for the new structure — Negwudengins, and this name is still remembered. From that time on, Ot'iwans ranked among the chiefs of Yan. It was from him or the members of his clan that Skilse (Isaac Chapman), adopted by the family because of the lack of nephews, learned how to carve totem poles. But Chapman, who was a cripple, never carved anything but argillite totems. The era of the tall totems had by that time passed away. His uncle Ot'iwans had been among the last to erect great totems.

**Method of selecting and carving a pole, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 110).**

When the occasion arose among the Haidas for the carving of one of these huge monuments, a search was made for a suitable tree as near to the beach as possible. When selected and approved by the chief for whom it was to be carved, it was felled, cut to the proper length, trimmed, and peeled. Then the side containing the most knots was hollowed out as in preparing to make a canoe. This hollowing had a dual purpose. First, it reduced the weight, making it easier to skid down to the beach, and lighter when the finished pole was to be erected. But most important, the removal of the heart wood made the pole more resistant to checking, that is, cracking disastrously. The pole, ready for carving, was a half-round shell about ten inches thick.

In this condition the log would be towed to the village and dragged ashore at the place for carving. It now went into the hands of a professional carver and his helpers (or slaves), who adzed it into shape.

The carver as an "artist" had little if any personal liberty in his work. He was told exactly what was to be carved on the monument, and traditional "Haida style," evolved from the earlier argillite carvings, dictated how the highly conventionalized figures had to
Carving a totem pole, Alaska
The technique of carving totem poles. The introduction of the Hawaiian "toe" or adze revolutionized craftsmanship on the north Pacific Coast, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 25, 26).

A most significant fact is that in trading for sea-otter pelts, the item most in demand by the natives was the "toe" or "towe." This word, which is Hawaiian in origin, means "adze" in Hawaii, and is used entirely for "adze" by Dixon and other traders on the northwest coast. In trading with the Haidas, "toes" were desired to the exclusion of all other trade goods in some instances; they were even given to children as presents.

Since the adze is the principal tool used in carving totem poles, as well as in making house planks and canoes, considerable impetus must have been given to woodworking of all kinds at this time, for now almost anyone could have tools that once were possessed only by the wealthiest chiefs. In the Queen Charlotte Islands the stone age had ended over-night.

Tools for carving among the Tlingits, as mentioned by Edward L. Keithahn.

The mallets used by the Tlingits in carving were made of crabapple wood, boiled first for hardening. [M.B. The specimen shown is of exactly the same form as the traditional French-Canadian mallet used by wood carvers.]

Mr. Keithahn has noticed that the Coast Indians, in using the crooked knife [M.B. Used everywhere in the northern parts of the continent and made by French-Canadian craftsmen at or near Montreal for the fur-trading companies, and later imitated by the natives], draw it towards them when working, which gives better control. The white people move it in the opposite direction. This observation had already been made elsewhere along the coast by the painter Langdon Kihn and the author. This, it seems, is an Asiatic trait, just like the way of holding the bow and arrow. The northwest Coast Indians hold the bow in hand horizontally, whereas, east of the Rockies, the bow points up and down.

Carvers at Wrangell in the WPA shops, in 1939:

Jos. Thomas of Wrangell, the leader; Charley Tagkook, born near old Klukwan (Alaska); Thomy Ukas of Wrangell; Philip Kelley, also of Wrangell.

How a totem pole was erected, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 116, 117).

Barbeau calls attention ... to the fact that the "trench" method of raising a tall totem pole is identical with that of South Sea islanders.

The trench method consists of digging a trench some twenty feet in length, starting shallow and gradually sloping to the other end, which will be of the desired depth for setting the pole. The pole is rolled into the trench with the butt in the deep end where it lies at an angle of about 30 degrees. A short log roller is placed under the upper end and moved forward as a pole is raised by straight lifting, "scissors," and pikes. A plank standing upright in the hole prevents gouging and aids in getting the pole erect. The whole band — men, women,
and children — complete the job with lines, while a foreman on a nearby stump or housetop shouts the native equivalent of "Yo heave!" Once erect, the pole is twisted about, until it faces the proper direction, that is, the waterfront; then the trench and hole are filled in.

![Erection of a carved post among the Maoris of New Zealand](image)

**How Haida poles were made**, according to James Deans (33, 34: 343).

In their preparation a large cedar tree was selected, one easily split, and with few knots being preferred, because knots interfere with the carving. After felling, it was cut into the desired length, and then split in two. The section chosen for the column was hollowed out to about 5 inches in thickness, according to the wish of the owner. After the bark and rough places were removed, it was floated to the village; and the carver set to work. When finished, it was raised by the united strength of the tribe, and by numbers invited from adjoining ones.

**Technique of the Gitksans** (Barbeau 5: 27).

The Gitksan poles were made from the trunks of red cedars, and their length varied from 15 to 60 feet. A suitable tree was first selected and felled, then hauled to its intended destination, sometimes many miles away. The "fathers" — or paternal relatives of the opposite phratry — rendered cere-
Carving a totem pole at Wrangell

monial services and benefited by liberal compensation. They took charge of the work, were fed and entertained during the progress of the work, and were paid at the conclusion. The total expense of the first operations exhausted the resources which a family or a clan could muster at one time. So the log was left lying uncarved in the village for a year or more.

A carver was then hired, the best available from among the "fathers." When he lacked the required ability, he appointed a substitute, whose work it was to carve the pole while he "stood over him." The carving was done under shelter, as secretly as possible; and the figures were selected by the owners from among their several crests. The greater their wealth and the higher their rank, the taller the pole and the more elaborately decorated. The carver was usually paid in guns, blankets, or skins, and the price for his services seldom exceeded in all the equivalent of $600.

Far more costly was the erection of the carved pole, which as a rule was postponed another year. When sufficient wealth and food were accumulated, invitations for a festival were dispatched far and wide. Several tribes gathered for the event, and the totem pole was raised in the midst of celebrations that were one of the outstanding features of Indian life.

Raising a large pole by means of primitive devices required great ingenuity and the co-operation of several tribes. A hole was first dug in the
ground, at least 6 feet deep. The butt was sunk in a trench leading to the hole, and the smaller end was raised gradually on wooden props. Stout ropes of twisted cedar bark attached to the top of the shaft and thrown over a high supporting frame were hauled by numerous hands, until finally the pole was hoisted into place.

The technique of raising a pole from the ground is illustrated in Plate XXXI, figure 2, which was drawn from information obtained from Hlengwah (or Jim Larahnitz) and Arhkawt (Alfred Sinclair) at Kitwanga in 1923. Its resemblance to the Polynesian process of the South Seas may be appreciated upon its comparison with that illustrated in Plate XXXI, figure 1, from a picture in the *Pa Maori...*, by Elsdon Best, 1927.

A typical instance of the exact proceedings in the erection of a totem pole is given on pages 53 and 54.

**Gitksan carvers of totem poles** and poles carved by them, among the Gitksan tribes of the Tsimsyans.

*See* the list of their names and particulars, and of the poles ascribed to them in the author’s earlier museum monograph *Totem Poles of the Gitksan*, p. 178–187.

- Upper Skeena River carvers (178–184).
- Tsimsyan carvers (of the lower Skeena) (184).
- Carrier carvers of Bulkley River (185).
- Summary (186, 187).

**Kwakiutl totem-pole carvers** of Alert Bay and neighbourhood, according to Daniel Cranmer in 1947.

*Charlie James*, Yaakutlas, from Fort Rupert was a Kwinksutenoq, married a Kwakiutl woman of Fort Rupert, and stayed there part of his life. He resided at Alert Bay and died a few years ago. He was the best-known carver there. Several of his large totem poles still stand, and he carved a great number of models. (The author has gathered material on him for a short biography.)

*Arthur Shaughnessy*, Hai’maseluk, a Tsaatenurh of the Kingcome tribe, who died a few years ago at the age of sixty. He carved totem poles, cedar chests, and boxes; he was also a silversmith, making brooches, ear-rings, and bracelets of silver and gold. His son Alfred Shaughnessy, who was drowned last winter, carved model poles for tourists.

*Yurhwayu* of the Mamtagyaila tribe was an older carver than the two first-mentioned carvers. He was the carver of the tallest Alert Bay pole, the Thunderbird, now standing in Stanley Park, Vancouver, and described elsewhere.

*Willie Seaweed*, Haihlamas, of Blunden Harbour, still living, carved totem poles and still carves masks. One of his poles stands in the Alert Bay graveyard: the Thunderbird pole (way back, on the right side); some of his work can be found in his village.
Carving a "curio" totem pole at Victoria
Mungo Martin of Fort Rupert, son of Kwuksutinuk, over sixty years old, is a carver of poles and masks, whose training was received from Charlie James, whom he used to assist.

Tom Patch, Hlalipalas, of the Tsawadenorh tribe, about fifty years old, is a carver of totem poles. The newest one in the graveyard of Alert Bay is his work.

Albert Johnson, Kyayustisalas, of the Harhwanis tribe of Kingcome Inlet, about the same age as Tom Patch, is said to be a good carver of masks.

Nelson, Tsaqaqalahl, about fifty years old, carved a totem pole standing in the Alert Bay graveyard (the one at the right end, in front). He belongs to the Kwatsino tribe.

Awaloskyinis, a carver of the Mamalikula tribe who, about twenty years ago, carved the Bullhead-like totem pole standing near the gate in the Alert Bay graveyard.

Herbert Johnson, a 60-year-old Kwakiutl carver of Kingcome Inlet, who, according to Daniel Cranmer of Alert Bay, carved many totem poles — a good carver.

Northern frontier of red cedar out of which totem poles were carved, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 109, 110).

Red cedar does not grow north of latitude 57 degrees N., running out in the vicinity of Wrangell and Sitka. Yellow cedar is found as far north as Prince William Sound, but even at Katalla the totems were made of imported red cedar. At Klukwan, on Chilkat River, canoes are made of cottonwood in lieu of cedar, and houses of spruce; but all of their house posts are of imported red cedar.

Northern frontier of totem poles, according to Edward L. Keithahn (6: 43).

No totem pole is recorded from any point north of Katalla, highwater mark of Tlingit northern expansion. Two rather new Katalla house pillars, fully painted, about 8 feet high, and representing presumably the Thunderbird, are shown on page 42.


According to native Haida accounts, carved designs were originally made directly on the front slabs of the house, afterward on a broad, thick plank, and finally on poles. This comparatively modern evolution is corroborated by the Tlingits, who have only the grave-post upon which they carve representations of stories as well as crests.

Abalone shells on totem poles. Mr. Edward L. Keithahn drew the author’s attention to his observation that the abalone shell pieces inset on totem poles for their decoration are often drilled through. The hole thus drilled served in sewing these pieces onto ceremonial garments. This feature is significant in that, before the time of the totem poles, abalone was used on garments. The shells, obtained from the natives at Monterey, California, were traded off to the northern natives by the white seafolk engaged in the fur trade of the Pacific after 1785.
I. Early Travel and Exploration

1. In 1778–1779, Captain James Cook (27) gave the following description of a Nootka house which he visited on the western side of Vancouver Island:

   Amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is Klumma; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses were Natchkoa and Matfeeta. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house in which these images are represented will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat by way of curtain, for the most part, hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It would seem that they are, at times, accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images, when they drew aside the mats that covered them.

2. In 1785–1787, Captain George Dixon (40), who visited the country of the Tlingits and the Queen Charlotte Islands, makes no mention of
Interior of a Nootka house (Captain Cook)
totem poles or other large carvings, yet he speaks of masks and small
ornaments.

3. In 1785–1787, de la Pèrouse (37) also explored the same coast,
observed and described their customs, discussed their use of metal, but
failed to mention large wooden carvings.

4. In 1787–1789, carved house pillars were mentioned by Haswell (55),
in "Voyage round the World in Columbia Rediviva and sloop, 1787–1789"
(from a transcript in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria):

The sides of the houses are perpendicular. . . For ornaments they have pillars supporting
the poles carved into the shape of human faces with distorted features, beasts, and imaginary
animals. The frame poles are usually painted (p. 47f).

5. In 1788 and 1789, John Meares (71) observed Nootka carvings in
the same neighbourhood:

Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were
supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of
timber.

The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a
first-rate man-of-war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well
as our astonishment was on its utmost strength, when we considered the strength that
must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such
strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanical powers. The
door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge
images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features
of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this
extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin. . . .

In most of their houses they have, as has already been observed, certain huge idols of
images, to whom we never saw them pay any mark of common respect, much less of worship
or adoration. These misshapen figures occupied, as it appeared, somewhat of a distinguished
and appropriate place, wherever we saw them; but they seemed to have no exclusive
privilege whatever, and shared the common filth of those who lived beneath the same roof
with them.

. . . He continued to inform us that the people killed the old man, and took his canoe;
and that from this event they derived their fondness for copper. He also gave us to under-
stand that the images in their houses were intended to represent the form and perpetuate
the mission of the old man who came from the sky.

6. In 1790–1793, John Bartlett of Boston in "A Narrative of Events
in the Life of John Bartlett of Boston, Massachusetts, in the years 1790–
1793, during Voyages to Canton and the North-West Coast of North
America" (91: 287–343), gave the following description of Kiousta on
Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands:

We went ashore where one of their winter houses stood. The entrance was cut out of
a large tree and carved all the way up and down. The door was made like a man's head and
the passage into the house was between his teeth and was built before they knew the use
of iron. . . .

(Page 804. A rough drawing reproduced from Bartlett's Journal.)

7. In 1791–1792, Etienne Marchand (70) explored the north Pacific
Coast and described the house of a chief in the country of the Kwakiutls
or the Tsimsyans on the main coast:

What particularly attracted the attention of the French, and well deserved to fix it,
were two pictures, each of which, eight or nine feet long, by five high, was composed only
of two planks put together. On one of these pictures is seen represented, in colours rather
House-front totem presumably at Kyusta (Bartlett)

lively, red, black, and green, and different parts of the human body, painted separately; and the whole surface is covered with them. The latter picture appears to be copy of the former, or perhaps it is the original; it is difficult to decide to which of the two belongs the priority, so much are the features of both effaced by age. The natives gave Captain Chanal to understand that these pictures are called Caniak in their language; and this is all that he could get from them.

Another description of a similar house elsewhere is also from his pen:

This door, the threshold of which is raised about a foot and a half above the ground, is of an elliptical figure; the great diameter, which is given by the height of the opening, is not more than three feet, and the small diameter or the breadth is not more than two; it may be conceived that it is not very convenient to enter the house by this oval. This opening is made in the thickness of a large trunk of a tree which rises perpendicularly in the middle of one of the fronts of the habitation and occupies the whole of its height: it imitates the form of a gaping human mouth or rather that of a beast, and it is surmounted by a hooked nose, about two feet in length, proportioned, in point of size, to the monstrous face to which it belongs. It might, therefore, be imagined that, in the language of the inhabitants of North island of Queen Charlotte's Isles, the door of the house is called the mouth.

Over the door is seen the figure of a man carved in the attitude of a child in the womb, and remarkable for the extreme smallness of the parts which characterize his sex; and above this figure, rises a gigantic statue of a man erect, which terminates the sculpture and the decoration of the portal; the head of this statue is dressed with a cap in the form of sugar-loaf, the height of which is almost equal to that of the figure itself. On the parts of the surface which are not occupied by the capital subjects are interspersed carved figures of frogs or toads, lizards and other animals; and arms, legs, thighs, and other parts of the human body: a stranger might imagine that he saw the ex voto suspended to the door-case of the niche of a Madonna.

The habitations are, in general, painted and decorated in various ways; but what was particularly remarkable, in that which the French visited, was a picture somewhat like those which they had seen in the sort of redoubt erected in the small island of the strait,
which occupied the head of the apartment, as is seen suspended in the drawing-rooms in Spain, over the Estrado, the picture of the Immaculate Conception. Surgeon Roblet has described this production of the fine arts of the North West Coast of America. 'Among a great number of figures very much varied, and which at first appeared to me,' says he, 'to resemble nothing, I distinguished in the middle a human figure which its extraordinary proportions, still more than its size, render monstrous. Its thighs extended horizontally, after the manner of tailors seated, are slim, long, out of all proportion, and form a carpenter’s square with the legs which are equally ill-made; the arms extended in the form of a cross and terminated by fingers, slender and bent. The face is twelve (French) inches from the extremity of the chin to the top of the forehead and eighteen inches from one ear to the other: it is surmounted by a sort of cap. Dark red,' adds he, 'applegreen, and black are here blended with the natural colour of the wood, and distributed in symmetrical spots with sufficient intelligence to afford at a distance an agreeable object.'

We see, in the small islands which would scarcely be thought habitable, each habitation with a portal that occupies the whole elevation of the forefront, surmounted by wooden statues erect, and ornamented on its jambs with carved figures of birds, fishes, and other animals; we there see in a sort of temple, monuments in honour of the dead; and, what undoubtedly is no less astonishing, pictures painted on wood, nine feet long by five feet broad, on which all the parts of the human body, drawn separately, are represented in different colours; the features of which, partly effaced, attest the antiquity of the work.

8. In 1790, in The Diary of the Voyage by [Manuel] Quimper (108), we read:

Huiquinanichi lives in a great house adorned with columns of huge figures which hold up three large pine timbers, as long as ninety feet and thick in proportion. The entrance is a figure, the mouth of which is a door.

In the following "Extract of the Navigation by Pantoja" (108: 159), we find a better description of the same houses:

Their houses are built of nine, ten, twelve, and up to fifteen wooden posts, on which the corresponding beams are laid. Over these are plenty of boards which protect them from the continual rains. They are of different sizes, the larger being thirty to thirty-five yards long and the fronts ten to twelve wide. Inside are some large posts on which are painted with red ochre the physiognomy of some dead talli, which signifies ‘chief’ or ‘captain.’

In the ‘Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana’ (108: 292, 293), we find:

We then saw [at the village of Beaver Cove or of Cheslakees] a great village in the form of an amphitheatre on a hill, surrounded by a pleasant meadow and close to a rivulet. It was arranged in streets and presented an agreeable view to seaward as the houses were painted in various colours and ornamented with good designs. It was the best we had come across since that of Tetacus. In this populous tribe, which as far as we could gather is that of Nuchimases, the luxury produced by the extensive trade it has with European nations and its continual traffic with that of Nutka is manifest. Here our
Indians redoubled their efforts to the commanders to induce them to go to their dwellings. When they were convinced that we were resolved not to lose time, they went to their village and returned immediately, to the number of about fifty in some canoes, to exchange sea-otter skins and some woven blankets of bark and grass, with coloured work forming the border, very symmetrical and in good taste.

9. In 1790–1793, according to Hoskins in "Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America and China (MSS.)," are found the two following paragraphs:

Their head villages are neatly and regularly built. The houses end with pitched roofs. In front is a large post reaching above the roof neatly carved but with the most distorted figures; at the bottom is an oval or round hole which is either the mouth or the belly of some deformed object. This serves for a doorway. Near those head villages they have fortified towns or villages which they call "touts," to which they retreat when invaded by a more powerful enemy. These are built on the most natural fortifications and much improved by art. They endeavour to have only one means of access, and this by a wooden pole with notches cut in it to admit the toe by which they ascend. When they are all up, the pole is hauled after them.

Page 107 (N. Queen Charlottes):

I went to view two pillars which were situated in the front of a village about a quarter of a mile distant from our vessel on the north shore; they were about 40 feet in height carved in a very curious manner indeed, representing men, toads, etc. the whole of which I tho't did great credit to the natural genius of these people; in one of the houses of this village the door was through the mouth of one of the before-mentioned images; in another was a large square pit with seats all round it, sufficient to contain a great number of people.

10. In 1791, Captain Joseph Ingraham, master of the Brigantine Hope of Boston, wrote:

Many of the natives [on the Queen Charlotte Islands] had on blue jackets and trousers which from their appearance it was evident they had possess'd but a short time, these inform'd us they got from Capt. Douglas. After the Vessel was fast I went in the boat accompanied by Cow to view two pillars which were situated in the front of a village about a quarter of a mile distant from our vessel on the north shore. They were about 40 feet in height carved in a very curious manner indeed — representing men, toads, etc., the whole of which I tho't did great credit to the natural genius of these people. In one of the houses of this village the door was through the mouth of one of the before-mentioned images. In another was a large square pit with seats all round it sufficient to contain a great number of people. . . On the top of this rock, altho' not above 50 feet in diameter, are a number of trees and bushes shading the remains of several Chiefs or those of their families. At low tide it is inaccessible without a Ladder. . . I found on it 2 houses of oblong square form, the top slanting to shed rain. Each of these Houses were full of boxes containing the remains of the dead. The boxes were made in the neatest manner, carved and decorated with sea otters' teeth. I wish'd much to examine the inside of one of the boxes but did not, as Cow begged me not and I did not wish to hurt his feelings. Before one of the Houses was 4 images resembling the human form and otherwise curiously carved.

11. In 1790–1795, Captain George Vancouver (106) made the following observations about the West Coast country between the Skeena and Vancouver Island:

Accompanied by some of the officers, Mr. Menzies, and our new guest Cheslakees, I repaired to the village, and found it pleasantly situated on a sloping hill, above the banks of a fine freshwater rivulet, discharging itself into a small creek or cove. It was exposed to a southern aspect, whilst higher hills behind, covered with lofty pines, sheltered it completely from the northern winds. The houses, in number thirty-four, were arranged in regular streets; the larger ones were the habitations of the principal people, who had them decorated with paintings and other ornaments, forming various figures, apparently the rude designs of fancy; though it is by no means improbable they might annex some meaning to the figures they described, too remote, or hieroglyphical, for our comprehension.

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1 The Ingraham journal, quoted to the author by Mr. B. A. McKelvie, is said to be preserved in MS. form at the Library of Congress, Washington. A photostat copy is available at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, in Victoria.
A mortuary pole at Yakutat, 1792
Nootka houses were also visited and described by Vancouver, as follows:

In the evening we passed close to the rock on which the village last mentioned is situated; it appeared to be about half a mile in circuit, and was entirely occupied by the habitations of the natives. These appeared to be well constructed; the boards forming the sides of the houses were well fitted, and the roofs rose from each side with sufficient inclination to throw off the rain. The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features.

The construction of the Nootka houses, especially with respect to their inside, has been so fully treated by Captain Cook as to preclude any material addition from my pen; yet it is singularly remarkable (although particularly represented in Mr. Webber's drawing of the village of Friendly Cove) that Captain Cook should not have taken any notice whatever in his journal of the immense pieces of timber which are raised and horizontally placed on wooden pillars about eighteen inches above the roof of the largest houses in that village; one of which pieces of timber was of size sufficient to have made a lower mast for a third-rate man-of-war. These, together with the large images, were at that time supposed to denote the habitation of the chief, or principal person, of the tribe; and the opinion then formed has been repeatedly confirmed by observations made during this voyage. One or more houses in many of the deserted villages, as well as in most of the inhabited ones we had visited, were thus distinguished. On the house of Maquinna were three of these immense spars; the middle piece was the largest, and measured at the butt-end nearly five feet in diameter; this extended the whole length of the habitation, which was about a hundred feet long. It was placed on pillars of wood; that which supported it within the upper end of the house was about fifteen feet in circumference, and on it was carved one of their distorted representations of a gigantic human figure.

Lieut. G. T. Emmons (47: 283) remarks:

Vancouver's only mention of totem poles was at a small village in Fitzhue Sound, and of painted house fronts here and in Johnstone Straits, and while the natives claim that their villages had such ornamental features before the advent of the white man, yet they must have been of rare occurrence.

12. Jacinto Caamano (1792), in his cruise around the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1792, described the arts of the Haidas (25).
Although Caamano gave extensive descriptions of the various ornamental arts of the Haidas, his only references to the native house and, incidentally, house decorations are the following:

Their houses, built of boards, are spacious, clean, and well kept. They are protected against the attacks of possible raiders by large wooden towers standing on steep rocks, and, for such occasions are provided with a couple of pretty good brass swivels, some muskets, long bows, darts, and daggers. Ordinarily, however, they carry none of these weapons; except the spears used for killing the nutria, of which they always take a sufficient number with them in their canoes (p. 221).

As the chaplain, master, surgeon, and botanist wished to land in order to visit a pretty large river that discharged near the village, I gave them the cutter. They were, however, no sooner ashore, than Jammisit accompanied by several more came to meet them, inviting them into their houses. Our people accepted and were entertained with a dance, decorated with feathers, and presented with various trifles, together with a dagger for me. At the same time, the Indians intimated that if I should visit them, it would give them great pleasure, and a grand fete would be arranged in my honour (p. 285).

The moment that I placed myself on the deerskin, these six fellows hoisted my 150-pound carcass onto their shoulders and carried me at a run across the shingle and up the pretty steep slope leading from it to the village, whither they brought me at a surprising speed. To pass through the narrow doorway of the chief’s house, over which was painted a huge mask, it was necessary to make a litter or hammock of the deerskin. Two of the strongest of the Indians did this, with the other four assisting as best they could, while I was shrinking myself into as small compass as possible (though my bearers were careful enough) to avoid being bumped against the door posts. Once inside, I tried to get on my feet, but this they would not allow before bringing me to the place prepared for my seat, which was to the right of the entrance (p. 289).

On the way, I noticed four more houses similar to the one in which we had been entertained. This was about fifty to fifty-five feet in length, and thirty to thirty-five in breadth, with walls and roofs of well-fitted planking. In the middle of the roof was a louver or sky-light, placed so as to admit plenty of light, and serving also for the exit of smoke from the hearth (on which a fire is constantly burning), but at the same time keeping out the rain. It was cleaner than I had expected to find and at some time must have been much larger, as around and above it stood heavy forked posts with cross timbers (p. 295).

13. About 1792, the entrances to Nootka houses at Opatsat or Clayoquot were described, apparently by Boit (in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXII, 303, as quoted by F. W. Howay—Cf. The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor, by Captain Elliott Snow, p. 339), as follows: Every door you entered was in resemblance to a human and beast’s head, besides which there was much more rude carved work about their dwellings, some of which were by no means inelegant.

14. In 1816, Camille de Roquefeuille (39) described the houses of Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, and those of Nootka, as follows:

At Massett, under the guidance of a man named Tayan. . . . The huts composing the four villages on the two sides of the entrance are better built and in better order than those of the north. There is something picturesque in the whole appearance of this large village; it is particularly remarkable for the monstrous and colossal figures which decorate the houses of the principal inhabitants, and the wide gaping mouths which serve as a door . . . . (pp. 87, 88).

At Nootka, the size of Macouna’s hut (p. 95). The colossal and monstrous figures already mentioned were the principal decoration of this Indian dwelling (p. 96).

The Indians call by the name of tche-ha the shed which serves as a burying-place of the great chiefs of Nootka only. At the entrance of the shed there are five rows of wooden statues, rudely carved, extending to the other extremity, where there is a kind of cabinet decorated with human skulls. Several of the statues wear the distinctive features of a man
and even have natural hair. Opposite the entrance there are eight large whales made of wood, placed in a line, on the back of which skulls are systematically arranged. . . Lastly, they set up his statue, as a monument to his honour. . . (p. 101).

15. About 1824, Capitaine Péron (117a) observed:

A Cape Flattery (Kwakiutl) habitation is here described, but without a mention of wood carvings (pp. 299, 300). The same remark applies to the large village of Tatascou (p. 303).

"Ces Indiens paraissent avoir quelques dispositions au dessin; sur la plupart de leurs pirogues ils avaient figuré avec une espèce de chaux des poissons, des oiseaux, et des animaux terrestres" (p. 304).

At Nootka, a pirogue of 50 feet in length "était ornée de sculptures grossières figurant le soleil et des serpents d'une longueur démesurée" (p. 306).

The habitation of Out-cha-chel is called "palais de ce prince." No carving is mentioned.

16. In 1829, according to Edward L. Keithahn (p. 116), the Rev. Jonathan S. Green observed "busts" and "carved masts" at Kaigani during his several visits in 1829. He perhaps did not know that his countryman, Captain Roberts of the "Jefferson," helped raise a totem pole in this same village thirty-five years earlier. Competition between the traders was keen, and the Indians made the most of it. On this occasion (1794), the Captain and his crewmen planed, sanded, painted, and erected the totem pole at the request of a local chief, the pole being raised with the aid of two spare top-masts and the necessary tackle.

II. Comments by Later Observers

17. In 1862, totem poles among the Haidas and the Tsimsyans were described by James Deans (33).

I paid a visit to Fort Simpson, one of the northern trading-posts. During a stroll through the Indian village, outside of the fort, I was astonished at the amount of carvings and paintings on the houses and tall columns, to be seen everywhere. This visit was made in the summer of 1862, extending up into Alaska, where I also had a chance to look over the carved columns. Early in the spring of 1869 I visited the home of Hidery proper, Queen Charlotte Islands. While there I discovered that every village on these islands was full of paintings and carvings and that there were various sorts of columns, also dead houses, with strange looking animal carvings on them.

18. From 1870 to 1880, the progress of the arts and crafts during the earlier decades was described by James Deans:

In the three closing decades of the last century, when these islands were first visited by Europeans, these columns were found in every village visited. In 1883, if I remember aright, I was shown a part of a tall column on North Island, one of the Queen Charlotte group. This column stood in front of a chief's house in 1770. At the time of my visit, excepting this column, nothing remained of this village but the outlines marking the sites of the houses, and if the roots of a spruce had not entwined the rotten remains of the column it would long ago have disappeared.

During the summer of 1872 I visited a large, newly finished house. Leaning against the wall were several bundles of sticks. Each stick was as thick as a man's thumb and two feet in length. My Indians told me that altogether these bundles contained 5,000 sticks, and that each stick was a tally for one blanket given away, or in all 5,000 blankets. In those days a blanket would cost these people not less than $6 by the bale, representing in cash $30,000 paid away in connection with this house. I told the Indians that was a large amount to pay for such a building, and I could not believe it. To this they all replied that
Watercolour by Paul Kane, Indians of Washington (1845–1848)
it was true. So I said no more, but went and overhauled one of the bundles. The quantity of sticks was correct, if the blankets were. The owner of this house was a skaga or doctor, and was of considerable importance among the various tribes. His name I have unfortunately lost. Instead of a carved column he had a veritable totem post set up about twelve feet from his house. The post, which was quite round, was twelve inches in diameter and at least twenty-five feet in height. Placed on top of it was an image of a man, two feet high, naked, with the privy member erect, very large and out of all proportion. This image was the totem.

Thus I have given the origin and signification of one sort of totem post. In the summer of 1889 I was once more in the vicinity of this house. I found the little garden full of potatoes in full bloom. The house I found about the same. The post with the little image on top was there also, but the sexual part was gone. In answer to my enquiry as to what had become of those parts the Indians with me replied: "Since we became Christians we did not like to see it there. So a number of us loaded our guns with bullets and fired at it until we shot it off."

In those days the power of the chief was absolute; also none but he had columns, because he alone had the means to pay for a fine house and column. Thus matters remained unchanged for generations; but by and by a new day and life began to dawn amongst these people. The traders from China, in the latter part of the last century, and the whalers in the early part of the present one, came amongst them. The Hudson’s Bay Company also opened a trading-post at Fort [Port] Simpson, and afterwards the steamer 'Beaver' visited and traded with the different tribes along the coast. At this stage the men and boys found that by trading with and working for the white people on land and on board the steamer, they could soon get property enough to build houses and to raise columns for themselves, and finally to become chiefs themselves, or at least as rich as chiefs. The women and girls also found out that by prostitution and by various services, such as washing, mending clothes, and such like, they too could become rich, wear a big labret, build large houses, and raise fine columns. They too had equal rights in these things with the men when they had the means to pay for them.

During the few years of the gold fever they were visited by a number of vessels. Two of them were wrecked and their crews made prisoners and afterward taken to Fort Simpson, where they were redeemed by the Hudson’s Bay Company. By these transactions they made considerable money, which added to the number of new columns. The gold excitement soon died out, but the natives had then a bad reputation, so no one came near them. At length, being tired of having no visitors, they thought they would see what could be got by visiting others.

So during the summer of 1853, having previously heard that many white people had come to Fort Victoria (as it was then called) and to Nundimo, they decided to visit these places in order to see for themselves. During the summer of that year about five hundred of them, in their large canoes, landed in Victoria, which at that time was but a trading-post of the above company, and the few people there were all connected with it. Seeing so many wild-looking fellows come suddenly amongst them, the whites were badly scared. This led James Douglas, who was then Governor, to send for the chiefs in order to have a conversation with them. They came, and he inquired what they wanted. "We have come," they replied, "to see if we can get something to do, and to trade." "That is all very well, but why so many?" "For protection against hostile tribes," they answered. "Very good," replied Mr. Douglas "but we can not have so many of you here; so get home again as fast as you can. Before you go, come to the store, and you will get something." After receiving goodly presents of blankets and other goods, they all left.

During their short stay they got well posted in the probability of their making money if they returned. So a few weeks after they left, four or five canoes returned quietly. At the first visit the men came in majority; with the second visit the women came. After a few months’ stay these women sent home a quantity of blankets and other goods, besides fine dresses. Seeing what had been sent, most of the people were anxious to visit Victoria. During that and succeeding years for the next twenty, they came by canoe, and steamer until there were but few left at home. After staying a while in Victoria they generally went to Fort Townsend, W.T.; then to all the lumber mills on Puget Sound and in British Columbia.

These 20 years were famous for two things as far as these northern Indians in general were concerned, and the Haidas in particular. These two things were fine houses and the splendid carved columns. I am sorry to have it to tell that while they were building these
houses and carving these columns, they were at the same time chanting the requiem of the Haida people.

As I have said, the Haida’s ambition was to build himself a house and to have a column which would excel all others in the beauty of its workmanship and in that which was distinctively his own. In order to secure this he must have not only his own crest, such as the Eagle or Raven, or Beaver, but he must have the crests of his own or his wife’s father and mother, especially if they belonged to any of the gens or orders, such as the Bear, Scongna, Chimbago, and Wasco.

If a Haida was able to have a column longer and broader than his neighbor, it also entitled him to rank high among the people. At first the columns were short and the space to admit carvings limited; so with crests above and one or two old stories, the broadside was covered. Consequently, when they grew larger there was more space to fill up, as well as more new columns. This caused a demand for stories. Everything was taken hold of amongst their own and neighboring tribes — on the islands and mainland; stories handed down through passing ages — stories almost forgotten by the old people, were collected and carved. Thus they went on carving until every family had one or two, and every village was full from end to end, mostly in front, a few being behind and on top of the houses.

While all this building and carving and striving to excel was going on, funds were wanted to meet the demands of those who were left at home to conduct operations. In order to meet them, mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives prostituted themselves at every opportunity, irrespective of conditions, as long as something could be made to send home.

After a few short years of this kind of life, nature, outraged and exhausted, landed victim after victim in an untimely grave; some far from home, others going home to die, until few were left. As a natural outcome of all this, every column had showed a marked improvement on the one preceding it, but an instance which came under my observation: In 1883 there was a column finished a few years before my visit to Massett, alongside of which, every time I passed, I loved to linger in silent admiration of its carvings, they were so beautiful. Behind it stood the frame of a house, showing equally artistic skill. Under this frame I noticed a rude hut of boards, making a wide contrast between the two. Upon my inquiry I found that the property belonged to a man who had a beautiful wife, or sister, whose charms were such that they could readily bring great earnings to the owner of them. Wishing to have a new house, it was agreed between the two that in order to have it and a column far surpassing anything in the land, he would remain at home and employ the most artistic skill on the work, and she would go down to southern parts and there, by the sale of her charms, would raise the funds with which to carry on the work. She went, and regularly by canoe and by steamer, came a supply of goods and money. The column was carved and set up, and also the house, when suddenly the supply from the South stopped. A few weeks later, word came up that she was dead and buried. Nature, unable to stand the drain on her constitution, gave out and landed her in an untimely grave. Ever after, when I passed this house, I felt sorry when I thought of the life sacrificed in order to bring it to that state of perfection. Her intention was to return when all was finished and have the most artistic skill on the work, and she would go down to southern parts and there, by the sale of her charms, would raise the funds with which to carry on the work. She went, and regularly by canoe and by steamer, came a supply of goods and money. The column was carved and set up, and also the house, when suddenly the supply from the South stopped. A few weeks later, word came up that she was dead and buried. Nature, unable to stand the drain on her constitution, gave out and landed her in an untimely grave. Ever after, when I passed this house, I felt sorry when I thought of the life sacrificed in order to bring it to that state of perfection. Her intention was to return when all was finished and have the pleasure of saying, we have a prettier house and column than any in the village. Had she lived she would have stayed, after all was finished, in southern ports until she had made enough to buy one or two hundred dollars worth of goods and provisions; then returned home again; the tribe would have been invited to a house-warming, when most of the provisions would have been consumed and all the goods would have been given away in presents. But she died, and the house remains as a sign of her ruin — its beauty covering a wreck.

19. In 1874, James G. Swan (96) gave the following description of the Haida carvings:

The first of these carved miniatures that I shall describe is of wood. It is intended to represent one of the carved posts or pillars which are raised in front of the houses of the chiefs or principal men. These pillars are sometimes from fifty to sixty feet high, elaborately carved at a cost of hundreds of blankets; some of the best ones even costing several thousand dollars; consequently, only the most wealthy individuals of the tribe are able to purchase the best specimens.

These pillars are carved out of a single cedar tree, the back hollowed out so as to relieve the weight when raising it in a perpendicular position. They are deeply and firmly set in the earth directly in front of the lodge, and a circular opening near the ground constitutes the door of entrance to the house. The Chimsean Indians at Fort Simpson and the Sitka tribes have this style of carved posts, but they set them a short distance from the front of their
Another watercolour by Paul Kane

An ancient megalithic memorial at the canyon of Gitsalas

The figures carved on these posts are the family totems or heraldic designs of the family occupying the house; and as these Indians build large wooden lodges capable of containing several families, the carvings may be said to indicate the family names of the different occupants.

The carvings of the pillars are thought by many persons to resemble Chinese or Japanese work, and in order to satisfy myself upon that point, I showed carvings to a party of very intelligent Japanese who visited Port Townsend several months since. They examined them carefully and critically, and pronounced them entirely unlike anything they had ever seen in their own country. In fact, they seemed as much interested in the specimens as our own people. I have seen similar carvings by the natives of the Fiji Islands, but on the northwest coast they are confined almost exclusively to the Haidas on Queen Charlotte Islands, and to the Chimseans on the mainland. The carvings I particularly allude to are those representing several figures, one above the other, as shown by the sketches and photographs of the carved posts or pillars placed before the entrances to their houses.

20. In the 1860's, the Haida poles as they stood were described by James Deans (34)—

The traveller by any of the steamers on this coast in, I shall say, 1862 would be surprised, as he came in sight of any Indian town, to see the number of tall columns of various heights and forms, standing from end to end of every town, mostly in front of the houses, although a large number often were placed behind. As he drew near, he would be amused to find them carved from bottom to top with figures, which he would naturally take to be runics or hieroglyphics. If he went through the village he would find that a number of these columns had no carvings on them, but instead had a box placed on top; on one side of this box was engraved something resembling the face of a...
Cunneaw's Village on Queen Charlotte Islands
human being. At some places he would see a long box resting on two strong cedar posts. At other places he would notice a long pole, like a flagstaff, with a bird on top of it, with a plate of copper either held in its beak or placed in the pole beneath its perch. Often these poles have ropes placed beneath the bird in order to haul up a flag on gala days. Again he would find amongst this motley group others carved from their base upward ten or twelve feet, while the remainder of the column was divided into circles of a breadth of twelve inches. On numbers of these columns, tops as well as sides, were engraved men, women, and children with hats, whose crowns are four of these circles in height. In others, a man is covered with five or more of these circles above his head, with a beaver sitting above his head on the uppermost circle. Most of those columns are without colouring, yet a few are painted with bright colours, having a pleasing effect. The colours used were bright red, yellow, dark green, and black. The houses were always built in a row, with two gables, the main entrance always facing the shore. In the centre of this gable and close to the wall is the principal column in which an oval hole was cut to serve as a doorway. The lowest figure on these columns is a bear, a beaver, or a wolf; all have been carved in a sitting posture. In the lower part of the belly of the object, the entrance or oval doorway was always placed. The average height of these columns may be placed at thirty feet; in width, four feet.

21. In 1884, the Haida villages are the object of the following observations by James Deans (34) —

In the summer of 1884 a census of every town, old or new, was taken, including the number of people, houses, columns, etc. This I shall give with the location of each town or village. The returns give Skidegate thirty houses and fifty carved columns, besides, I think, thirty mortuary ones, and a number of Sathing-un-Nah or dead houses, or tombs behind the village. To-day, 1891, very few old-style houses are left, all having been replaced by modern ones, built from models, from houses in Victoria.

The village of Guneshewa [Cumshewa], Q.C.I., named after its chief Grunshawas town, had eighteen houses and twenty-five carved columns, besides mortuary ones, and dead houses.

Captain Skidanse’s town is given as having twenty-five houses and thirty carved columns, besides a number of mortuary ones.

In Captain Clue’s town, Tamo [Tanu], Q.C.I., the number given is twenty houses and twenty-five carved columns.

Ninstint’s [Ninstinst] town, so called after its chief, is the southernmost town on the Queen Charlotte Islands. It had twenty houses, twenty-five carved columns, and twenty mortuary ones, given at date.

In this district of Massett there are three villages, namely: Yan, on the west side of the inlet. At the above date it had twenty houses, twenty-five carved columns. You-te-wuss, the principal village, stands on the east side of the inlet. It had forty houses and fifty carved columns, besides a few mortuary ones. Ka-yung, the third village, has been abandoned for a number of years. It had six or seven columns standing, also a few fallen ones. Yateza, a new village a few miles from Massett, had three houses and one carved column. At Kung, on Naolen or Vrago [Virago] Sound, there were fifteen houses, all in ruins but two, and twenty carved columns Tadens [Dadens] is a new village on an old site. It had seven or eight houses, and one carved column erected a few years ago. At the deserted villages of Yakh and Kioosta, besides a great many tombs, there were a number of columns with very ancient carvings. At the former there were six houses and ten carved columns. At the latter, fifteen houses and eighteen carved columns.

The Gold Harbour Indians’ village of Heenii, on Maud Island, Q.C.I. This village was built about 1876 by the remnant of the West Coast tribes, who bought a piece of land from the Skideyats [Skidegate], and formed a new tribe by moving into it. At the above date there was in this village thirteen houses and eighteen tombs.

At the village of Kai-Soon there were ten or twelve houses, and about as many carved columns, besides a number of tombs.

The old village of Chu-att [Catham] had (I think) about fifteen houses, mostly in ruins, and I believe twenty carved columns. At this village the tombs far outnumber those at any village on Haida Land.
22. In 1888, A. P. Niblack (78) stated —

Amongst the northern Tlingits these carved columns of all kinds have largely dis­
appeared. At Sitka only the stumps of the ancient ones are now found. Wherever the
missionaries have gained influence with these Indians, the totemic columns have gradually
disappeared and the old ways been given up. Of the Tlingit villages which have retained
many of the primitive customs, Tongass (Tunchaash) is the most representative. Kasa-an
stands at the head of the Kaigani, and Skidegate, of the Haida villages in this respect.
Wars, epidemics, and emigration have reduced the population to such an extent that
former sites have been abandoned, and the Indians are gradually concentrating into a
few villages. Graves, ruins, decaying houses, grass-grown village sites, graphically picture
the results of the contact of the coast Indians with our civilization.

23. In 1904, Dr. J. R. Swanton wrote (119) —

Most important of all the southern groups of Tlingit were the Stikine. They claim
that they formerly owned, besides the Stikine Valley, parts of Kupreanof and Prince of
Wales Islands and the coast southward as far as Loring. The last-named district, however,
appears anciently to have been the special property of the Foam people (Rhasilqoan),
who have moved to Wrangell only in recent years. The Stikine also had exclusive rights of
trade with the interior Indians, who were valued for what could be gotten out of them but
otherwise looked down upon as a lower race. Formerly the principal Stikine town was
Qahllcallan, now called Old Wrangell, some distance south of the present town of Wrangell,
and it is claimed that the first carved poles in Alaska were there set up. The Indian town
at modern Wrangell was built around a little bay near the northern end of Wrangell Island
and on several small islets in the bay.

All of the Wolf families in this place, except the Foam people, above referred to, appear
to belong to one group, and among them the most important of Wrangell, as well as of this
phratry, were the Nanyaayi. Although all these clans are said formerly to have come from
the Tsimshian coast, the more immediate migration was southward from Taku.

When house posts were first used at Skidegate (Haida), according to J. R.
Swanton (97: 100).

At Pebble-Town they erected a large house, from which they were subsequently
called Big-House-People; and from there they moved into Skidegate, where they re-united
with the Rotten-House-People. They became the ruling family of Skidegate in a manner
already described. Their chief now prefers to be called Skedagits, but he who has the most
storied reputation was called Yestagana (or, as the Skidegate people proper call him,
Nistagana). Under him, house poles are said to have been first used.

The origin of carved posts, according to a Massett tradition reported on
by J. R. Swanton (97: 218).

Some people living in Massett Inlet went to Rose Spit to pick berries.
On the way a woman looked into the sea and saw a carved post there.
The people looked at it long enough to remember how it was made and,
when they got home, carved two posts just like it. At this, however, the
supernatural beings became angry and raised a flood, compelling the people
to take to their canoes. They threw one of the posts into the sea and put
the other on top of a low mountain. Then they began to sing, and the flood
fell; but they were changed into birds, called Gyugadaga. The post that
they left on the mountain is sometimes seen by those who are going to
become rich.

24. In 1909, John W. Arctander explained (2) —

The use of the totem pole never became common among the Tsimshians, while the
Haidas, the expert carvers of the coast, were especially noted for their complex sets of
totem poles and were closely followed by the Thlingits.
The illustration on a near-by page gives an idea of the forest of totem-poles in a Haida village. At Fort Simpson, the headquarters of the Tsimshian nation, there was never, at any time, more than eight or ten totem-poles, all told. The Tsimshians, instead, some time painted the animals of their totems on the front wall of their houses, and every household utensil and treasure chest, as well as every box in which the winter food was stored, bore upon it evidences of the family's totem, carved or painted, as the case might be.

As quoted by Arctander, Duncan himself wrote in *The Metlakahtlan*, No. 4. November, 1889 —

It is the ambition of all leading members of each clan in the several tribes to represent by carving or painting their heraldic symbols on all their belongings, not omitting even their household utensils, such as spoons and dishes: and on the death of the head of the family, a totem pole is often erected in front of his house by his successor, on which is carved and painted, more or less elaborately, the symbolic creatures of his clan, as they appear in some mythological tale or legend.

25. In 1913, Mrs. Lewis Shotridge wrote (89) —

With the introduction of steel and iron implements among the tribes of the Northwest Coast, totem poles became numerous. Numbers of them could be seen in front of houses in the more southern villages. But before the modern tools, it is said, totem poles were rare, not only on account of the difficulty in the making — as stone and wood were used for tools — but the desire to keep them strictly distinctive was a reason for their scarcity.

One often hears it said by the older people that originally totem poles were used inside of the houses only, to support the huge roof beams. The carvings and paintings on them were usually those of the family crests. These posts were regarded with respect, very much as a flag is by a nation. Even when the Chilkats had acquired modern tools with which to make totem poles they did not fill their villages with tall poles like some other tribes, chiefly because they wanted to keep to the original idea.

The figures seen on a totem pole are the principal subjects taken from tradition treating of the family's history. These traditions may treat of the family's rise to prominence or of the heroic exploit of one of its members. From such subjects the crests are derived.

In some houses, in the rear between the two carved posts, a screen is fitted, forming a kind of partition which is always carved and painted. Behind this screen is the chief's sleeping place.

26. In 1914, Livingston F. Jones declared (59) —

Whether the Hydahs originated the crest system and totemism, or borrowed them, we have no means of knowing. But there are good reasons for believing that the Thlingets borrowed them from the Hydahs. Those living near them and having the most to do with the Hydahs, have the most totem poles, whereas the farther away you find them from the Hydahs the fewer they have, and the meaner they are. Then, too, the Thlingets are not such skilled totemic workmen as the Hydahs but are mere imitators.

27. In 1945, Edward L. Keithahn published the information (62: 111) that the Haidas say their inspiration for these quaint monuments came from water-logged totem poles that drifted to their beaches in Queen Charlotte Islands from parts unknown, many generations ago.

28. In 1947, Fred S. Johnston, an old-timer, in Alaska since 1897, met by the author at Wrangell in 1947, stated:

The totem poles were unknown here [in Alaska] until the early 1890's [this was true with the exception of some short poles on Shaiks' Island]. I was at Cape Fox in 1921. It was then mostly grown up with weeds, around the remnants of totem poles.

29. Totem poles in Alaska in the 1880's, 1890's, and as late as 1902, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 38, 39).

In *The Alaskan* of May 12, 1888, was this item —

The Elder brought from Metlakahtla two old totem poles consigned to Dr. Sheldon Jackson for the Sitka Museum. It seems that formerly the people now living at Port Tongass resided at Port Chester. Fifty years ago a party of Stickeens attacked and
defeated them. The village was burned and the people driven away. The totem poles alone seemed to have escaped the fire. Last summer, when the Metlakatlaans took possession of the place, they found a few still standing. Having no interest in them, the poles were gradually being destroyed. The best two remaining were secured for the Museum.

The Kake natives, always jealous of their tribal institutions, were still carving memorial poles as late as 1895. An item appearing in *The Alaska Searchlight* (Juneau), December 21, 1895, stated:

The Mayflower returned from Kake Tuesday night. The Kake Indians erected a large and elaborately carved totem last Monday in honour of a dead chief and were indulging in the usual potlatch. A large number of natives were present but everyone seemed disposed to be peaceable.

About ten years later a well-meaning missionary, gaining the backing of the village elders, had practically every totem pole in Kake chopped down and burned. The few that survived were destroyed when Kake village burned in 1926.

On February 29, 1896, *The Alaskan* published an extract from a letter by Dr. Thwing of Wrangell, as follows:

This winter there has been a very general feeling of suspense and expectancy in view of the great feast and intertribal dance for which Chief Shakes has been preparing for a year or two. To dignify a living son and commemorate one dead, there has been a new totem pole carved, and the Tongass natives have been called to dance and feast here. These guests arrived February 1st and were received with great honour and much noise.

This is the “Raven” pole, still standing in Wrangell and in good repair despite its roundly fifty years. However, this pole has been repaired and repainted from time to time, a fact that has aided immeasurably in its preservation.

*The Mining Journal* of Ketchikan, issue of January 18, 1902, gave evidence that totem poles were being carved there after the turn of the century, although it is difficult to determine just which poles are referred to. The item is, as follows:

The natives have about completed a new totem pole, which they intend erecting at the foot of Main Street as soon as the finishing touches can be applied. Another of the same pattern is being built in Indian town.

Chief Johnson’s pole was carved at about that time, but there is no record of another of this pattern being carved.

30. The Age of totem poles. What Edward L. Keithahn thinks of the age of totem poles (62: p. 21–33). (The following are merely extracts from an interesting chapter entitled “Antiquity of the Totem Pole”.)

That totem poles, however dilapidated, are not necessarily of great age, certainly not prehistoric, may be noted in the case of New Tongass village. Here the poles appear to be as ancient as any on the Northwest Coast, yet we know positively that none was carved there before 1867, the year the village was established. At this site, the “Lincoln” pole was falling apart at the age of fifty years; it was beyond all repair at the age of seventy. The reason for this, besides the rigours of climate, is the fact that, once erected, the Indians never troubled to repaint or repair their finest totems.

The Spanish navigator Maurelle, in 1775, makes no mention whatever of totems of any type being at Sitka at that time. It seems highly improbable that he would have failed to mention such unusual monuments had he seen any, so it is reasonable to conclude there were none at Sitka prior to 1775.

In his article “A Yankee Trader on the Northwest Coast, 1791–1795,” Vol. XXI, No. 2, of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Mr. F. W. Howay related the exploits of
Capt. Roberts of the Jefferson. While at Kaigani, a Haida village on Dall Island in 1794, the captain had occasion to assist in making and erecting a totem pole. I quote: "To ingratiate themselves and to aid the trade, the captain with the carpenter and some of the crew went to the village to plane and smooth a totem pole. The next day they returned with two spare top-masts and the necessary tackle to raise the pole and set it in position.

Later, Cunneah, the chief, asked Captain Roberts to have the pole painted, which he did. Some days later at Cunneah's request, men were sent to raise and place a carved figure on the top of the totem pole, the figure resembling a toad.

The first good description of a Tlingit mortuary pole comes from the Spaniard, Don Alejandro Malaspina, who saw several at Yakutat in 1792. In his book *Voyage Round the World*, 178-194, is a drawing of a large bear totem holding in its paws a box containing ashes of the dead. His description follows: "We do not know whether the colossal monster which occupies the foreground is an idol or merely a frightful record of the destructive nature of death, but the fact that in its vicinity are various pyres on which bodies have been cremated, inclines us to the first idea. In a casket which lay beneath its claws or hands was a bowl-shaped basket, a European hat, an otter skin, and a piece of board. The height of the monster was no less than ten and half feet (French). The whole was of pine wood and the ornaments on the casket were of shells embedded in the same wood. The colouring was of red ochre with the exception of the teeth, the claws, and the upper part of the head which were painted black and white."

Alexander Mackenzie reported no detached totem poles among the Bella Coola whom he visited in 1793. But he did describe interior house posts which are common throughout the totem pole regions and more widely used than any other carved pole on the Northwest Coast.

In describing a native house, Mackenzie said, in part:

The groundplot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four stout posts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain and support a beam of the whole length having three intermediate props on each side, but of a larger size, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre posts at each end are two feet and a half in diameter, and carved into human figures, supporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this square represent two persons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they supported the weight with pain and difficulty; the others opposite them stand at their ease, with their hands resting on their hips. In the area of the building there were the remains of several fires. The posts, poles, and figures were painted red and black; but the sculpture of these people is superior to their painting.

Captain George Vancouver, who visited the Northwest Coast in 1793–94, described various mortuary poles that he saw. Near Cape Spencer, he wrote:

Here were erected two pillars sixteen feet high, and four feet in circumference, painted white; on the top of each was placed a large square box.

A year earlier, June 1793, at 52 degrees 17 minutes north, on the mainland, Vancouver saw decorated houses and detached totem poles which might not have been mortuaries, in which case they would be the earliest reported detached totem poles other than mortuary. Vancouver’s brief description is as follows: "The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features."

Otto von Kotzebue who was in Sitka in 1825, only twenty years after Lisiansky, apparently saw no totem poles of the mortuary type.

Captain Sir Edward Belcher briefly described Sitka which he visited in 1837 but he, too, made no mention of totem poles.

Jonathan Green, a missionary (from Hawaii) who toured the Northwest Coast in 1829 with the idea of establishing a mission, saw totem poles, probably at Kaigani. He wrote, in part, "They occasionally build a decent house and erect before it a mast or log of great size carved and painted fantastically."

Sir George Simpson visited both Canadian and Alaskan villages and Hudson's Bay Company posts in 1841–42, but made no mention of totem poles encountered except for
mortuaries at Sitka. He did, however, pay tribute to the native artists when he wrote, "they carved steamers, animals, etc. very neatly in stone, wood, and ivory, imitating, in short, everything that they see, either in reality or in drawings...

The foregoing accounts cover a period of exploration of one hundred years duration and contain about all that has been recorded concerning totem poles in that century. From them we may infer that interior house posts were in general use throughout the entire region before the coming of white men; that the mortuary pole was common in Tlingit and Haida villages; that the exterior house post is Haida in origin, probably originating on Langara Island; that the detached totem pole must be of recent origin, possibly not over a hundred years old — that totem poles in general reached their highest development during the period of white trade and occupation, roughly between 1840 and 1880.

31. The art of the Northwest Coast is recent, according to Edward L. Keithahn (62: 76).

Like the totem poles, the art of the Northwest Coast itself is recent. Many museum pieces in stone and wood reveal that the artist of this region has not always favoured the curvilinear figures he now executes to the exclusion of all others. Food and storage boxes in particular were formerly decorated with plain geometric figures, and red was the only colour employed on them. The women's art as seen in mats and baskets was also formal and meaningless, except that the various designs employed had names. In recent times, however, the native women have been prevailed upon by whites to imitate the men's totemic figures on their baskets.


In his discussion of the age of totem poles, Mr. Newcombe gives interesting information on the age of a number of totems and Indian villages.


Alfred Wesley, a Haida slave met at Gitamat about 1895 (he was then 40 years old), thought that the idea of the large totem poles detached from houses went back to the Nass. The Gitamat people were not totem pole carvers in the same sense as the Nass and Skeena tribes were. They had one when I lived there, and there had been others. The one standing was 35 or 40 feet tall. The figure at the top had a segmented hat; below was a Halibut, with a Frog superimposed.

34. Age of the Gitksan poles on upper Skeena River.

See details in a list in the author's museum monograph Totem Poles of the Gitksan, pp. 187–191:

At Gitwinlkul (1860–1916), at Kitwangla (1850–1920), at Kislayaks (1850–1935), at Gitenmak (1840–1900), at Havigwet (1850–1875), at Qulado (1860–1870?), at Gitsesuykla (1873–1925), at Kisagag (1885). Some new poles have since been erected at Gitsesuykla, Gitenmak (Hazleton), and Kislayaks.

III. In Mythology and Tales, totem poles are very rarely mentioned. This omission indicates that these emblems do not go deep in the concepts of the past and the casual references to carved poles may obviously have been introduced recently under the strong influence of the art in the last part of the nineteenth century. Such allusions are found elsewhere in this book; in addition, I quote the two following extracts from the myths, and later of the Tlingits, Nos. 35 and 36:

35. The Raven makes a totem pole, recorded by Dr. J. R. Swanton (119a: p. 117):

Raven went to another place, and they said to him, "There will soon be a great feast here," and they asked him to make a totem pole. He finished it, and when they put it up,
they had a big dance. The people who gave this were of the Wolf clan, so he danced with one of the two Raven parties. Afterward he made a long speech to the host. Then they danced again, and Raven held a spear in his hands. This meant that he was going to be invited to a feast next, and was done that they might give him more than the others. So nowadays some are in earnest in doing this, and others go through the performance and leave without keeping it in mind. Raven was the person who first had those dances and speeches.

36. Dreaming of totem poles, according to Alfred Adams, Haida of Massett, in 1939:

The Queen Charlotte Island people claimed to be the best carvers and the best canoe-makers in the early days. In the legends of the Massett
A totem pole being removed

tribes, carvings are mentioned even before the flood. At the slough near Massett, there are traces of an ancient community house with inside grades excavated (the da'q of the Tsimshians). Legend reports that this was the chief's house. One day he decided to give a feast, but before accomplishing his plan, he went with his son, a Prince, to the mainland to get a supply of grease. After their canoe was loaded with oolaken grease and other things, they started back. As they were passing by Rosespit (on the north-east point of the islands), the Chief's son fell into a trance and had a famous dream. He saw a large village under the water, full of fine houses and totem poles. In front of the chief's house stood two totems, the figures of which he still clearly remembered after he had returned to his senses. He advised his father to make similar totem poles, and they had carvers reproduce on good cedars the figures revealed in the vision. When the work was completed, a day was put aside for celebrations.

On the day of the feast the tide began to rise; gradually it came up, bringing on its crest the visitors invited from all over the island — Massett and Skidegate, and from the mainland, Alaska. They were getting ready to raise the totem when the tide came up once more and covered the whole land with salt water. The guests changed into birds — birds with white heads and black, some black all over, with red bills (puffins) — and flew away home. The totem pole became alive and swam away.

At the time the people blamed the young man for bringing this about. The totem he had seen under the sea must have been too sacred to carve. It was afterwards said to have been found stranded beyond the present slough on the hill above Delcatla. Those who discovered it used to tie their canoes up there as the tidewaters still rose up to that point. When the land began to dry up, those who possessed strong medicine could see totem poles. It proves that the Haidas at that time were already carvers. That is why they have ever since remained partial to carving.
Among our people, the Haidas, the same carvers made both the masks, the spirits (narknorh), and the totems. There was no difference among them. A good craftsman could undertake anything he wanted. The art, however, was not the privilege of common folk; it had to be inherited in high society. A carver had to train his successors to continue his work; but as long as he was able it was his exclusive right to carve. A carver of totems was a high man. In former times there were special men for every calling; as some were good speakers, others were makers of totem poles.

37. The first totem ever known was shown to the author in 1947 in the form of a miniature pole of red cedar, 18 inches high, hollow back. This model was owned by Mrs. William Paul of Juneau, Alaska.

It illustrates a story in the cycle of the Raven. Briefly, it is as follows, according to Mrs. Paul: The Raven and the Bullhead were travelling together. The Raven, in the form of a man pulled down his bill to his stomach, and his companion Bullhead, went down to Whaletown under the sea. On their way back from Whaletown, the Raven produced this totem pole in memory of his visit.

This model pole was carved by John Wallace of old Klinkwan (new Haidaberg) about 1926, as a gift to Mr. William Paul of Juneau in acknowledgment of their blood relationship.
John Wallace (according to the Rev. Samuel Davis, merchant at Haidaberg, Alaska) was about 80 years old in 1939 and had been trained in carving by David Wallace, an older man (Yakulanos).

IV. Opinions of the Tsimsyan and Haida Informants as to age of art of carving and erecting totem poles.

38. Origin of house and carved columns, according to Edensaw, in 1891 (33, 34).

They [the Haidas] say they do not know how long ago it was that their forefathers began to build themselves houses after the present style and to set up carved columns. It was many generations ago. At first they lived in very cold and comfortless huts, without columns or any such thing outside of their dwellings. Whether it was in order to improve his house or to inform the rest of his tribe about his name or that of his village that the chief erected these columns, I have never been able to discover. If the name has been preserved to posterity, these people do not care to make it known. This chief seems to have been in possession of more than ordinary intelligence, because he set himself to devise a more comfortable style of house in every respect.

While he was thinking over a plan, an angel — or rather, I ought to have said, a spirit, for among these people angels and spirits were one and the same — appeared to his clairvoyant eyes and showed him the style of a house, with the measurements and everything connected with the future building in detail, excepting a carved column. In the same manner King David got the plan of the temple at Jerusalem. Having been provided with a plan, he and all his tribe set to work in order to get out the requisite material. Just as they were about to build, the same visitor appeared to the chief and again showed him the plan, with this difference: a carved column was placed in front of the house, with his crest (a Raven) carved on top. Underneath the Raven was a second carving, the crest of his wife, an Eagle. Lower down still were the crests of his father and mother, and also those of his wife's family. While showing him the plan, his adviser from the celestial sphere told him that not only was his tribe or himself to build houses like the one shown, but all the people in every village were to build the same and to set up columns. Slowly but surely as the old huts were pulled down, new styled ones took their places, each one having one or more columns. One had the husband's crest and that of his parents; the other had the wife's crest and that of her parents underneath.

39. The age of the Skidegate totem poles, according to Mrs. Susan Grey, who stated that she was 80 years old (in 1947).

Skidegate, she affirms, is not very old. The earlier village was beyond what is now Tlelel (or q'ahlen'skun), on the sea-coast to the northeast. But the people moved from there to Skidegate before she was born. Her first husband, William Dixon, called Ayai (later, Neyuwens), was a carver of small totem poles and other things. In his time, the tribe here was no longer erecting large poles. He was dead some 30 years, in 1947.

She added: "There were totem poles before my time, long before. They say that the Raven made us and could do everything. He made totems too."

40. When the Skidegate Haidas began to erect totem poles, according to Henry Young, a carver 75 years old in 1947.

He said, "Totem poles go back to the time before I was born. My father, who was 89 years old when he died, had seen poles standing when he was a little boy. So there were some, over 100 years ago. Most people, when I was young, wanted to have their own totem poles. But when the Rev. Mr. Crosby, the missionary, arrived in his boat in 1884, he stopped the people and threatened them with jail, if they wanted to raise totems. And he had a number of converted Skidegates wear police uniforms. It was at that time
T. B. Campbell restoring totem poles at Kitwanga
Totem pole at Kitwanga being taken down for restoration
that the Skidegates began to build white man’s houses here — not quite 60 years ago, when I was 9 or 10 years old. The old-timers among our people, who were used to the old style, did not care for the new buildings.”

Large Haida totem poles, when they were carved and erected, according to Henry Young, an old Skidegate chief, were 6, 8, 9 fathoms long, and stood in front of the houses. They began to carve argillite poles (miniature poles in black argillite) at the time when they were erecting large ones. Before this, they did not make argillite poles, but “only pipes, all the time.” [M.B. Actually the oldest argillite poles we know date back only to the late 1860’s.]

41. When the last totem poles were made at Massett (Haida), according to Alfred Young (in 1939), an old member of the Eagle clan.

During his time [when he was young], totems were still being carved and erected. He was born among totem pole carvers. His clan (named Tsitskitnae — Inhabitants-of-Tsits) had nine totems. It was during the missionary Harrison’s time that the people stopped erecting poles and gave up the potlatch.

42. Age of the totem poles at Gitlarhdamks, up Nass River (Tsimsyan) according to Dennis Wood, an old member of an Eagle clan at Gitlarhdamks (with William Beynon, interpreter). The twenty-four poles of Gitlarhdamks that he described in detail were the first poles erected there.

“Before totem poles were used, house paintings decorated the house fronts. The native tools were not fit for the carving of large poles. In later days, the paint was obtained from the white people. The earlier native paints were fixed with the oil of the salmon roe. The dyes were extracted by chewing from the bark of the cedar. Red ochre was also used. Green (*meklathk* and *lawrawsan*) was obtained by pulverizing a green rock. Black was produced from the charcoal of alder ground together with the oil of salmon roe. Yellow, in the early days, was not available. But a tan colour was secured by grinding the dry dung of the bear in cedar bark juice — the bear’s dung presumably acted as a fixative.”
After the Kitwanga house frontal was restored
Two other old informants, present at the time — Guiteen Menæsk, the head-chief of the local Eagles, and Peter Neesyawq, head of the Wolf clans, shared the same opinion, that the totem poles described were the only ones that ever existed at Gitlarhdamks.

The old totem pole of Næqt under cover at Kitwanga
EARLY CULTURE CONTACTS ON THE NORTHWEST COAST


A publication of the Academy of Science of Petrograd has recently (1926) brought to light an early period of Russian adventure and exploration in eastern Asia and the Northwest Coast of America, which was not currently known even among historians and ethnographers. Russian Cossacks, trappers, and fur traders, it appears, penetrated the American fastness nearly a century before Bering started on his spectacular explorations. To use Sternberg’s own words, “The reports of the Cossack Dezhnev, who discovered Bering strait a century before Bering, already contain a description of the American Eskimo.” The discoveries of the second Kamchatka expedition were far reaching. The local fur traders, between 1745 and 1762, extended their activities from the Alaskan Peninsula to the main coast of America; and, as states Sternberg, “The Russians came into contact not only with the Eskimo tribes, but also with the northwestern Indians — the Tlingits and Athapascans.” Among those pioneers and traders were found a few men whose studies of linguistics and ethnography are said to be remarkable, particularly Lisianski, Langsdorff, Khvostov, Davydov, and others. These men of science observed the northwestern American natives, even as far south as California, at a very early date, and left extensive records that are still unpublished. Thus we hear of “another resident among this tribe” (the Koloshes — or Tlingits) whose detailed description of the Tlingits was used by Lutke in his reports to the Russian Imperial Government.

From these records and a few others it appears certain that the Northwest Coast people were accessible to foreign influence for more than two hundred years, to say the least. When estimating the inroads of this influence upon their customs and manual arts and the rate of their progress, we must also consider how amenable the natives were to this change. The American Indians from the beginning were all more or less adaptable to European culture, and this is what caused the downfall of their culture taken as a whole. But nowhere in America did they show more avidity or greater skill to acquire and utilize whatever suited their needs from the sundry goods, tools, or crafts of the white man. They were naturally gifted with a sense of inventiveness and with manual dexterity, as may be seen in the activities of their craftsmen to the present day. These traits were often noted by visitors at various times.

Even before the Russians and the Europeans had any perceptible influence on the natives, it is quite possible that iron and foreign objects were casually obtained from the Japanese junks that for several centuries are known to have been wrecked and salvaged on the Northwest Coast. Several junks, with Japanese fishermen aboard still alive, were cast ashore on the coast within historical times, and survivors were kept as slaves by the natives. One of them, a blacksmith in the service of a chief, was observed by explorers and traders at the mouth of the Columbia, about 1808; and two others were purchased from the Haidas in 1833 at Port Simpson and given their freedom.

1 W. D. Lyman, The Columbia River.
2 See a lengthy list of Japanese junks found adrift or stranded on the coast of North America or on the Hawaiian or adjacent islands, by Charles Wolcott Brooks, in Proc. Calif. Acad. of Sciences, Col. VI (1875).
An influence which may not be without significance in some respects is that of the Kanakas on the Northwest Coast. Little has so far been said about it; yet some traces of its presence have come to our attention, such as small wooden carvings or statuettes in some of our museums that are undoubtedly of South Sea technique, some costumes, and possibly also some manual processes. We may wonder whether the insertion of abalone pearl segments as decoration for wood carvings — and this is a notable feature of many of the finest Haida, Tsimsyan, and Tlingit carvings — is not to be
traced to this source, since the large, deep sea shells themselves, from which they are cut, were imported, so we understand, from California and the South Seas in the course of transoceanic trade.

**From 1785 to 1795**, by George I. Quimby (83: 247–255).

A few extracts from this significant study—

A somewhat casual survey of published sources indicates that there were Chinese, Hawaiians, Negroes, and natives of the Philippines among the polyglot crews of European and American vessels trading on the Northwest Coast of America between 1785 and 1795. Researches by Heizer show that some Japanese were on the coast at this time and perhaps earlier.¹

Thus many Europeans and some non-Europeans visited the Northwest Coast almost a hundred years before any anthropologist set foot in the region.

... Below, in tabular form, there are presented the approximate number of ships on the Northwest Coast by year from 1774 to 1794 [130 vessels in all]...

Previous to 1774 the Northwest Coast, at least the northern part, probably had been visited by Russians. As early as 1741, Bering and Cherikov made a landfall on the northern part of the coast.

Voyages to the coast before 1741 were likely apocryphal and hardly worth the listing. These voyages were those of Juan de Fuca in 1592, Admiral de Ponte (or Fuente or de Puente) in 1640, and Shapely in 1640.

The voyages to the coast between 1774 and 1779 were exploratory — Pérez in 1774, Heceta and Bodega y Quadra in 1775-76, Cook in 1778, and Arteaga and Bodega y Quadra in 1779. It was Captain Cook’s voyage of exploration that showed the world the possibilities of the fur trade with the Indians of the Northwest Coast, but this trade was not begun until 1785. In the succeeding years, however, ships visited the coast in large numbers and this maritime fur trade lasted until about 1835.

¹ Personal communication from Robert Heizer. Japanese came to the Northwest Coast on disabled craft carried from Japan to the coast by wind and currents. Heizer has compiled considerable information on this subject.
Non-European peoples were significant minorities among the personnel of trading and exploring ships on the Northwest Coast during this period.

The non-European minorities carried by these ships were the Chinese, Polynesians, Negroes, and natives of the Philippines previously mentioned.

In 1788 Captain John Meares sailed from Canton to Nootka to engage in the fur trade. Included in his crews were fifty Chinese, among whom were smiths and carpenters. At Nootka, Meares built an establishment on shore, a two-storey house surrounded by a stockade. He also built a sailing vessel of forty or fifty tons. The construction of both the house and the vessel were undertaken by the Chinese carpenters and smiths, assisted by "divers natives of America."

The Chinese smiths and armourers were employed by Meares in the manufacture of articles for trade with the Indians. He said of them, "the Chinese armourers were very ingenious, and worked with such a degree of facility that we preferred them to those of Europe."

The Chinese brought to Nootka by Meares were on the Northwest Coast from May 1788, until at least May 1789. Many of the Chinese were quartered in Meares' establishment on shore. There is no record of Meares having carried the Chinese back to Canton, and some of them, at least, may have been assimilated by the Northwest Coast Indians.

Some Chinese were brought to the Northwest Coast on the Argonaut and the Princess Royal in 1789. According to Meares:

They had also on board, in addition to their crews, several artificers of different professions, and nearly seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers on the American coast, in the service, and under the protection of the associated company.

In his "Remarks on the Argonaut's Outfit, 1789," Captain Colnett stated —

Besides the aforementioned Crew, being determined to form a Settlement at Nootka, build a fort and also craft to carry on the Trade on a large scale, the following Chinamen were put on board by me for that purpose: 7 Carpenters, 3 Blacksmiths, 5 Bricklayers and Masons, 4 Taylors, 4 Shoemakers, 3 Seamen, 1 Cook.

Consequently the "near seventy" Chinese settlers stated to be on the Argonaut by Meares dwindle to twenty-nine when counted by Colnett . . .
The plan of Meares to exploit his friendship with Comekela in obtaining advantages in trade was frustrated. In June, 1788, Meares naively complained that —

Comekela was, at first, very active in forwarding our commercial arrangement; but he had become very deficient in his native tongue, and he now spoke such a jargon of Chinese, English, and Nootkan languages, as to be by no means a ready interpreter between us and the natives . . .

In addition to having spent some time in China, Comekela (a Nootka) had visited Hawaii. This fact, plus his relations with Tianna, an important Hawaiian sojourning on the Northwest Coast, is recorded by Meares . . . .

Thus the evidence of Meares indicates that in 1788 there was a Nootka Indian who had been to Hawaii and China and who spoke a jargon of Chinese, English, and Nootkan . . . .

Captain George Dixon reports the introduction of Hawaiian tapa cloth in June, 1787. He says —

One of the Chiefs who come to trade with us, happening one day to cast his eyes on a piece of Sandwich Island cloth, which hung up in the shrouds to dry, became very importunate to have it given him . . . . and the Indian was perfectly overjoyed with his present.

One of a group of sixty Indians who visited Captain Vancouver in September of 1793 may have been a native of the Philippines who had become a naturalized Nootka.

*Negroes on the Northwest Coast*

The sources for this period show that the ship's crews interbred freely with Northwest Coast Indian women. Thus any physical anthropological study of Northwest Coast Indians must recognize the probability of Chinese, Japanese, Negro, Filipino, and diverse European strains in the physical types of the Northwest Coast. Any interpretation based upon the recognition of these strains in Northwest Coast Indians must take into account the interbreeding during the period of the early maritime fur trade.

Similarly, in the framework of Northwest Coast Indian culture, any recognition of Chinese, Japanese, African, and Polynesian influences should be examined in terms of the ethno-historical records of the maritime trading period.

Parts of Northwest Coast culture, as it existed in the period of ethnological examination, may have had its roots in the stimulus of culture contact during the time of the maritime fur trade. The published and manuscript sources for this period may offer significant evidence. In the field of material culture, for instance, it is possible to show that the twisted iron collar was introduced by Captain Ingraham of Boston, that sails were first successfully adapted for use on dug-out canoes about 1790, and that the totem pole made its first appearance in 1791.

As early as 1778 Captain James Cook hinted that some aspects of Northwest Coast culture were changing because of the stimulus of culture contact. For instance, of wood-carving he said —

Their great dexterity in works of wood, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they received from iron tools. For, as far as we know, they use no other . . . . And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable
The cement base of a restored totem pole

Label on a restored totem pole
that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which is now universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them.

**Haida carvers widely travelled**, according to Mrs. E. C. Stevens, of Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, in 1947.

Walter Kingego (a sub-chief of Massett) was one of the sailors of Captain Hann, the mate on Jack London's *Flying Dutchman* (?). He went up to the Aleutian Islands and Japan. He and the other Haidas took very well to Japan; they ran up big bills. He stopped at the Hawaiian Islands (in the Pacific), then at Monterey (California), before coming back to Victoria, and to his home islands. The crew of the *Flying Dutchman* (?) were almost all Haidas. Such trips happened year after year, and Jack London actually went on one of them. At Monterey the Haidas took part in a show. Kingego sang a war song on the stage: “This is the song we sing when we kill the whole business” (meaning the white people). And the Haidas then sang other songs in their language.

Head-chief Harry Weeyæ of Massett likewise went several times to Japan and to the Hawaiian Islands.

**WORKSHOP ITEMS**

The bulk of the information in the present monograph was gathered by the author at first hand in the course of field work on the north Pacific Coast, mostly among the Tsimshians, from 1915 to 1947, for the National Museum of Canada. Native informants were hired by the day. They were consulted, and they gave their information in their own language, usually
Tlingit totems in public parks in southern Alaska
with the help of interpreters. William Beynon is a unique instance of a bilin­
gual interpreter whose training with the author began in 1915 at Port
Simpson, and who, in the course of time, has become an authority on all
native subjects and has assisted several anthropologists in their later
investigations, among them Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. Susman, Dr. Viola
Garfield, and others. Some of the later records were taken down on an
Edison Electric phonograph, just as hundreds of Indian songs had been, on
the older Standard Edison.

To avoid technicalities in printing and reading, the phonetically recorded
native words were rendered here in plain spelling, which perforce remains
incomplete. But full linguistic studies are to be kept apart.

Indian names and words were written phonetically by the author. They
varied slightly according to the informants and the tribe. No attempt at
forcing uniformity was made here, as an impressionistic approach allowed
for greater accuracy.

According to a current method explained at the heading of the Bibli­
ography, the numerous references to printed information have been system­
atized and simplified.

The illustrations have been numbered, and a descriptive list explains
them; often fuller comments may be found in the various chapters through
which they are dispersed. Photographs taken by the author do not bear his
name; otherwise, credit is given either to the institution or to the photo­
grapher to whom they belong.
Tlingit totems in the park at Saxman
Tlingit totems in the park at Saxman
Tlingit totems at Saxman

Frogs in the totem park at Saxman
The bulk of the material on the Tsimshians, the Haidas, and the Kwakiutls, as utilized in this book, was obtained at first hand by the author in the course of field expeditions for the National Museum of Canada, between 1915 and 1947, and during the same period, by his assistant William Beynon, of Port Simpson, now chief of a Wolf clan of the Nisḵ̓æs. Although research work was carried out for brief periods in 1939 and 1947 among the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Tlingits in Alaska, and the Kwakiutls and the Nootkas of the coast of British Columbia (Arthur Price assisting among the last two), the author here had to rely to a greater extent on the literature in print, as quoted, wherever it was available. The most important outside contributors to whom the author gratefully acknowledges his debt, are Edward L. Keithahn, James Deans, James G. Swan, Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. J. R. Swanton, Lieut. G. T. Emmons, A. P. Niblack, Dr. C. F. Newcombe, W. A. Newcombe, and Dr. Viola E. Garfield.
Kaigani and Haida totems in the parks at Klawock and Hydaburg
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Addenda


Conservation of Totem Poles.

James Deans, who collected Haida totem poles for the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, seems to have inaugurated the period of their conservation, after they had ceased to be erected in large numbers on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The conservation of totem poles and house posts was eventually to assume two forms: first, their preservation in museums, away from the corrosion caused by seasonal change and natural elements; and second, their restoration and re-erection in cement bases in public parks after they were treated so as to ensure their comparative longevity in the open. Left alone in their original location, most of them were bound to crash down some fifty or sixty years after their erection. It is doubtful whether any pole erected in 1875 is now standing; even with immunity to wilful destruction (many have been taken by careless native villagers as firewood), it would be impossible.

Only a dozen or so Haida totems figured at the World's Fair at Chicago. Once the exhibition was over, they remained as part of the ethnological collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, until the building they were housed in was replaced by the Art Institute, and they were dispersed or lost sight of.

Many more poles from that date on were collected, not a few of them by Dr. C. F. Newcombe and his son W. A. Newcombe, for the museums of the United States, Europe, and Canada. The author in this way, too, contributed to the saving of whatever remained standing of the totem poles on Nass River, fifteen in all, most of them among the best in existence.

Public parks in a few cities in Canada and Alaska became modern totem pole centres: here they were re-erected for preservation in the open. The fruits of this labour may be seen in Victoria, Vancouver, and Prince Rupert, in British Columbia; and in Saxman and Ketchikan, Klawock and Sitka, in Alaska. Under the efficient and far-seeing Forest Service of the American Government, many poles of deserted Kaigani-Haida and Tlingit villages have been saved. At Wrangell, new totem poles were carved and erected under
Tlingit totems in Klawock park, Alaska

Tlingit house post in Sitka Park

Tlingit totems of southern Alaska in front of the Bear Totem Store, Wrangell
the WPA Plan by Indian carvers to replace the earlier ones in the same location. The new carvings were derisively called "Barbecue poles" by the Tlingits, because they lacked any real significance and were required by the white man only for purposes strange to the older natives.

The Canadian Government and Canadian National Railways jointly undertook, after having been urged by the author, to preserve the totem poles of the Gitksans in their several villages up Skeena River. Unfortunately, the work of restoration was not very successfully carried out because
of deficiencies in the personnel in charge, and it was given up after only two groups had been taken care of—those of Kitwanga and the Gitsalas Canyon (on one side only).

The carvings in the Totem Park of the Provincial Government in Victoria have been well handled and repainted, and constitute the best cluster of its kind in Canada. Very soon the University of British Columbia will have another group of poles collected by the author and the artist Arthur Price, in the summer of 1947, at Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and on Nass River.

The totems of Stanley Park in Vancouver and of Prince Rupert, like the one standing in Jasper Park, count among the best specimens from the
Haida, the Kwakiutl, and the Haida, the Kwakiutl, and the Niskäe countries, but they have been gaudily painted and disfigured after replanting. For this reason very few of them have been included here in their present garb. The restorers as a rule forget that the totems of the northern natives of the coast were carvings, not paintings.

Paint was used on house fronts and very sparingly on some, not all, totem and house poles.

Some isolated poles, after being restored and replanted, stand in the open. Such ones are the Eagle's Nest pole from Nass River, in the Zoological Garden near Quebec; a Haida pole, in front of the Museum of the American Indian in New York City; and two Nass River poles, near the Annex of the same museum in the Bronx; a Tlingit pole in front of the Alaska Commissioner's residence at Juneau, Alaska; a few in the streets and the parks or in front of stores in Ketchikan, Wrangell, and Juneau, Alaska.
The largest number still remaining in their original location (about a hundred in all) are those of the Gitksans on upper Skeena River. These have seriously deteriorated since 1925. A few new ones of inferior quality have been carved and erected there in the past ten years. A festival for raising new poles and re-erecting old ones was held at Gitseguyukla in the winter of 1946, but, as the new generation is not totem-pole-minded, this may be the last effort of its kind.

**Totem restoration in recent decades** in the United States and Canada, as explained by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 118–128).

Extracts from Mr. Keithahn's interesting chapter—

Through the conspiracy of climate and social usage a cedar totem pole could hardly be expected to stand much longer than the man it honoured. So long as new poles replaced those rotting away, there seemed no need to be concerned lest this unique art disappear from the earth. Yet, when totem-carving practically ceased at the turn of the century, it was plain that unless something was done soon to preserve those monuments left standing, it was only a question of a few years when there would not be a single totem pole left standing in sight on the whole Northwest Coast.
While a great many totem poles had been removed from their original settings to grace the parks and museums of the United States, Canada, Alaska, and even Europe, the first recorded instance of an effort to preserve totem clusters in Alaska, intact, was in Sitka. A “Public Park” was created there by proclamation on June 21, 1890, on the site of the old “Kiksadi” Indian village where in 1804 the battle for Sitka was won by the Russians and where a cluster of totem poles stood. This park became the “Sitka National Monument” on March 23, 1910.

The National Monument of Old Kasaan was originally established by executive order in 1907, amplified by the Presidential Proclamation of October 25, 1916. It is about 40 miles east of Ketchikan on Prince of Wales Island. The village, deserted since 1900, contained many fine totem poles and the ruins of community houses.

In the spring of 1926, Dr. H. W. Krieger of the U.S. National Museum, on loan to the Bureau of American Ethnology, was detailed to inspect the houses and totem poles at Old Kasaan with a view to their preservation. He found many poles beyond the possibility of recovery, but the remaining monuments were scraped and treated with creosote.

In the years intervening between 1921 and 1938, restoration of Alaska’s totem poles was a sporadic enterprise carried out by a few far-seeing individuals in their own communities or by local service clubs. The late Walter Waters of Wrangell purchased several poles and totem figures and moved them from deserted West Coast villages to Wrangell, where they may still be seen.

In February 1937, Dr. Ernest Gruening, then director of Territories and Insular Possessions, reopened the question by recommending to Chief Forester Silcox that something be done to preserve the poles. During the greater part of the next 2 years the Forest Service collected data on location and condition of existing totem poles and community houses, the rightful owners of them, and ways and means of securing title so that they could be moved to various centres for rehabilitation if such a project were instituted.

The program of Totem Restoration was actually initiated as a C.C.C. project in July 1938, by Regional Forester B. Frank Heintzleman, who was director for the Alaska C.C.C.

In the project, which did not formally close until June 30, 1942, approximately 250 Indians were employed. Totem poles from Cape Fox, Old Tongass Village, Village Island, Pennock Island, Old Kasaan, Sukkwan, Klinkwan, Howkan, Tuxekan, Seattle, Sitka, Wrangell, and Ketchikan were removed for restoration or duplication. It is interesting to note here that Seattle’s famous Pioneer’s Square totem pole, purloined in 1899, was duplicated for Seattle by the descendants of the Indians from whom it was stolen on that memorable “Good Will” excursion.

Since many of the above sites were in hidden “canoe harbours” seldom visited by anyone, most of the renovated poles were set up in clusters in more accessible places, often in the towns where the descendants of the old totem carvers now reside. Hence, clusters were placed at New Kasaan, Saxman, Totem Bight (near Ketchikan), Hydaburg, Klawock, Wrangell, and Sitka, forming unique totem parks in those communities.

Individual totems were set up in Ketchikan, Wrangell, Juneau, Old Auk Village site, Sitka, and Seattle. In all, 48 old poles were restored, another 54 beyond restoration were duplicated by native artists, and 19 poles which existed only in memory were carved anew. Besides this, three Indian Community houses were duplicated, one at Mud Bight, Ketchikan; another at Kasaan; and a third on Shakes Island, Wrangell harbour.

Although the project was initiated, directed, and carried out by the U.S. Forest Service, it had the co-operation of the U.S. Indian Service, the Governor’s Office, many other interested public agencies and individuals, both white and native. Through it a cross-section of the most remarkable art in America has been preserved for public enjoyment for many years to come.

**Totem poles destroyed, as reported by Edward L. Keithahn (62:86)**

In Kake village all totem poles were chopped down and burned on the pretense that they were a health menace. Many of them did contain charred bones of the dead, but the real motive behind their destruction was to remove an important symbol of an allegedly unholy past.
Totem poles at Sitka are not really Sitkan, as explained by Edward L. Keithahn (62: 54).

A few years ago one could be certain that Tlingit poles would be found only in the territory occupied exclusively by the Tlingits, and Haida poles in Haida territory. However, many have since been taken up and transported to new locations even within the totem-pole regions. Sitka, in Tlingit country, now has many fine Haida totems brought there from Howkan and Klinkwan, and Tlingit poles brought there from Port Chester. There is not a genuine Sitka pole in Sitka, for only mortuary poles were carved there and these have long since disappeared. A fine old Haida pole from Sukkwan stands in Juneau, also in Tlingit country.

The Restoration of Gitksan Totem Poles jointly by the National Museum of Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Canadian National Railways, from 1926 to 1928.

The author succeeded in inducing the above-mentioned Canadian Government departments and Sir Henry Thornton, Chairman of the Canadian National Railways, to preserve as many as possible of the totem poles of the Gitksans, where they could be seen by tourists. Harlan I. Smith for the National Museum, and T. B. Campbell, bridge engineer for the Canadian National Railways, were placed in charge. The villages later brought into this scheme were Kitwanga and Gitsalas.

The writer spent the summer at Kitwanga, B.C., superintending the preservation of the Indian totem-poles along Skeena River. This work was commenced in 1925 under the direction of a committee consisting of Dr. D. C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Mr. Charles Camsell, Deputy Minister of Mines, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, Mr. E. Sapir and Mr. C. M. Barbeau, of the Museum staff; and the same committee directed the work in 1926, except that Mr. Sapir was replaced by his successor as Chief of the Division of Anthropology, Mr. D. Jenness. The Department of Indian Affairs defrayed all the running expenses, and the Canadian National Railways co-operated by supplying considerable quantities of material free of charge and by placing at the writer's disposal the services of a special engineer, Mr. T. B. Campbell.

The initial step was to gain the goodwill and consent of the Indian owners of the poles. This was not easy, for they were unfavourably disposed toward white men in general, and particularly toward Government officials. There were many grievances they could cite, some no doubt real, and some imaginary. The white men had settled on their land and were pushing the Indians more and more to the wall; they had built canneries on the coast that
were destroying all the fish; they were cutting all the best timber in the country so that within a few years none would remain for the Indian; they sold whisky in Government liquor stores and put the Indians in jail when they drank it. A few years ago, they had prohibited the erection of totem poles; why did they wish now to preserve them? Much tact and patience were necessary to answer these and other objections the Indians raised to any interference with their poles, but in the end most of the difficulties were happily overcome.

The engineering work progressed favourably under the able direction of Mr. Campbell. Poles that had decayed at their bases (and they were in the majority) were cut off at ground-level and bolted to new, well-seasoned bases. The fresh portions were then creosoted, and the older parts of the poles treated with linseed oil, since paint cannot be applied satisfactorily over a creosoted surface. All the original poles had been painted, but the colours were almost obliterated through exposure to the weather. They were repainted on the ground and re-erected in a cement setting capped with plastic gum that reached slightly above the ground-level to prevent seepage of water between the wood and the cement. The lowering and raising of each pole was accomplished with an A-frame and a winch.

The repainting represented the greatest difficulty. To apply the colours in conformity with ideas derived from European technique would have destroyed the aboriginal character of the poles, and produced a hybrid art. If restored at all, the colours should conform to those originally painted on the poles. In many cases the oldest natives alone retained any memory of their former appearance, and even they could reach agreement only after long discussions and arguments. Another problem arose in connection with the method of repainting. The weathering of the wood had been accompanied by a fading of the original colours, giving to each pole an archaic and subdued appearance in harmony with the landscape only by the Indians themselves, who also knew the original colours, could be employed for repainting, and they were not experienced in reproducing antique forms; so although they toned down the new colours as far as they were able, they could not avoid a gaudiness in the repainted poles that contrasts unpleasingly with the mellow colours of those still untouched. It should be remembered, however, that new poles were gaudy even in olden days and that exposure to the weather for one or, at the most, two years will produce all the fading that should be necessary to restore an archaic appearance. The poles that were repainted in 1925 now appear quite satisfactory in this respect, although they were extremely gaudy immediately after their restoration.

When the operations were begun in 1925 in Kitwanga, three totem poles had already fallen, and most of the remaining fifteen had rotted immediately below the ground-level, so that they were in danger of falling. In that year eight specimens were treated, seven totem poles and one totem figure, two of which had fallen. Last summer ten specimens were cared for in the same way, nine totem poles and one totem figure, a gain of 25 per cent, at the same expense. The gain was doubtless due to the experience gained in 1925, to more suitable equipment, and to better relations with the Indians, whose experience with the movement in the preceding year resulted in a more friendly disposition, fewer delays, and even voluntary offers of co-operation.

Ninety per cent of the totem poles at Kitwanga are now restored. Only two poles remain untouched, and for these the native owner refuses to give his consent. The Indians have given permission to work on eight poles at Gitseuykla, one at Hazelton, four at Hagnwelget, and two at the forbidden village of Kitwinkul; it is understood, also, that they agree to the restoration of all the poles at Kispiox.

This work of preserving the totem poles at Kitwanga has already produced some interesting results. The "Out-of-Doors Totem Pole Museum" (as they have been called) has not only attracted tourists but stimulated the Indians themselves. In 1925, John Laknitz, a Gitksan Indian, opened beside it a museum of ancient Gitksan costumes, musical instruments, and other objects; he played phonograph records taken by himself of Gitksan songs and exhibited photographs of some Gitksan portraits painted by Mr. Kihn. His little museum was visited by many tourists but was closed a year later on the death of its owner. Soon afterwards, however, his father, Jim Laknitz, opened his own house, a much more suitable place. Its large size, its fireplace, smoke-hole, and two large ridge-poles with four carved house posts supporting them, are typically Indian features, although the pitch of the roof, the shakes, the lumber, the doors, and the windows are modern in character. Inside are a large number of excellent old Gitksan specimens. Visitors have expressed the opinion that this building should be preserved, because, among all the Indian houses in this part of the country, it perhaps approaches nearest to the old aboriginal type. During the lifetime of its owner it is probably fairly safe except from fire, but after his death measures might be taken to secure its preservation.
Incidental to the work on the totem poles, assistance was given to a representative of the Pathé Motion Pictures in securing information and pictures of the totem pole work which will further advertise the Canadian National Railways. Several moulds showing a mask and details of some of the totem poles were brought back to Ottawa. The figures reproduced from these moulds are useful as museum specimens, as advertisements in railway offices and depots, and as souvenirs to be used in the same way as animal heads. They may also prove of value for architectural work, since the architect of the new Hudson's Bay Company's store in Winnipeg was recently searching for suitable totem pole material to decorate the company's restaurant.

Restoration of Totem Poles among the Tsimsyans (Informant, Jack McLeod, Prince Rupert, 1947).

Henry Dudoward of Port Simpson, who paints the totem poles for the municipality in Prince Rupert, was ostracized by his own people, who consider his work the defilement of totem poles. It was the custom among the people to leave those monuments alone after they had been erected.

Why fallen totem poles are abandoned, according to Charles Mark, a Gitksan of Gitsegyukla (in 1924).

Chief Weegyet would like to raise his pole, which has fallen, but he and his people are afraid to do it now, because he would have to engage the whole tribe to help him. The job would require many hands, and the Government might interfere; it has such a wrong idea about raising totem poles. When the work is over, a feast would have to be given, and rejoicing would take place; all those who helped would get $1 apiece, and the chiefs perhaps $2. This cannot be undertaken now.

It gives the people great grief to see their totem poles falling and decaying on the ground. It is true that we are Christians, or would like to be, and we cannot have totems at the same time. Yet there is nothing written in the Bible anywhere that totem poles are wrong in themselves or that if a man raises a totem he will not go to heaven.

(In the winter of 1945 some of the old poles of Gitsegyukla were transplanted from the old village flat on the river-bank to the new village on the hill, and new ones were carved and raised in the course of a modernized form of potlatch.)
DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations bear serial numbers which refer to the same figures in the following descriptive list. Credit for photographs is given to the individuals or the institutions whose contributions they are. The numbers in brackets are the negative numbers of the National Museum of Canada, unless otherwise stated. Most of the photographs were taken by M. Barbeau from 1915 to 1947.

187. A graveyard figure at Gitiks, a former Niskæ Tsimsyan village near the mouth of Nass River. (N.M.C., 69750) ........................................ 437

188. (Upper group) Old totems at the abandoned village of Angyadæ on Nass River — the pole to the left, Fin-of-the-Killer-Whale; centre, Bear Mother; Grizzly Bear; the pole to the right, a Man at the top. (N.M.C., (a) 69738; (b) 69737; (c) 69735; (d) 69733). (Lower group) Totems and graves at the same village. (N.M.C., 70692-c, W. A. Newcombe, 1903) ........................................ 436

189. The pole of Negwa'on of Angyadæ, on an island above this abandoned village. (N.M.C., 72995) ........................................ 437

190. The pole of Gwaneks and 'Weelhara of the Fireweed group of Gitwinksihlku at the canyon of Nass River. Now standing outside the Annex of the Museum of the American Indian, New York. The figure to the left shows the pole as it stood in the bush (N.M.C., 69639). The one to the right, after its restoration, in New York. (Museum American Indian) ........................................ 438

191. (Left) Lower part of the Bear-Mother pole at Gwunahaw at the canyon of the Nass (N.M.C., 69640). (Centre) The Half-protruding pole of Arhtimenawdez, Wolf chief at Gwunahaw (N.M.C., 17-10-27). (Right) A pole, half burned, standing in Gitwinksihlku at the canyon of the Nass. (N.M.C., 69717) ........................................ 439

192. The pole of Towq, head of a Wolf Clan of Gitlarhdamks on upper Nass River. It stands now in the Canadian National Railways park on the hilltop, Prince Rupert. (Left, Can. Nat. Rlys., 1926; right, N.M.C., 102368) ........................................ 440

193. Totem poles at Gitlarhdamks on the upper Nass River, as they stood before they were destroyed. (Left) One of the poles after it was cut down (N.M.C., 70686-c). (Right) The Towq pole, now in the C.N.R. Park, Prince Rupert. (N.M.C. 70689-c), W. A. Newcombe, 1903 ....... 441

194. Totem poles at Gitlarhdamks, as they stood before they were destroyed. (lower left, N.M.C., 70688-b, W. A. Newcombe, 1903) ........................................ 443

195. Totem poles of Gitlarhdamks before 1903. (N.M.C., lower left, 70692, upper left, 70683, W. A. Newcombe, 1903) ........................................ 446

196. Totem poles of Gitlarhdamks — as fine as the best anywhere on the north Pacific Coast. (N.M.C., 100438) ........................................ 447

197. Totem poles along the river-bank at Gitlarhdamks. (N.M.C., lower, 70686-b or 70687-b, W. A. Newcombe, 1903) ........................................ 449

198. Carved figures cut off a totem pole and used as house foundations at Gitlarhdamks. Now at The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, collected by the author. (N.M.C., 72990) ........................................ 450
199. Sections of an Eagle totem belonging to a chief in the Manæsk family at Gitlarhdamks. Now at The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, collected by the author. (N.M.C., left, 69649; right, 69636)

200. Fragment of an Eagle totem pole belonging to chief Manæsk, at Gitlarhdamks. Now at The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, collected by the author. (N.M.C., 72982)

201. The Woodpecker on its nest at the top of a pole at Gitlarhdamks. (N.M.C., 69648)


203. (In foreground) Totem pole called Mirage (hlek'an) of 'Weenas at Port Simpson. (Centre) The pole of Liquidiil of Weesails and Tseehesæ. (In the distance) Pole of the Grizzly Bear. (Old photo, N.M.C., 68805)

204. Plain poles, the one to the left called The Fireweed, at the canyon of Gitsalas on Skeena River. (N.M.C., 69226)

205. House posts after they were restored by the Canadian Government, at the Gitsalas canyon of Skeena River. (N.M.C., 70455, Harlan I. Smith)

206. House posts at the Gitsalas canyon after their restoration in 1929. (Harlan I. Smith, N.M.C., left, 68441; centre, 68573; right, Bureau of American Ethnology)

207. Poles at the Gitsalas canyon after their restoration. (N.M.C., left, 70368; right, 68571, Harlan I. Smith, 1926, 1929)

208. Decayed totems at the Gitsalas canyon. (N.M.C., left, 70458; right, 70457)

209. Decayed Eagle and Beaver poles at the Gitsalas canyon. (N.M.C., left, 70383; right, 68570)

210. Decayed totem at the Gitsalas canyon

211. The village of Gitrhahla (Tsimsyan) on Porcher Island in 1870. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.V.)

212. Totems of Gitrhahla. (Top left, and right). The sea-monster Parhlekpeel with (supposedly) ten figures carved on it; crests of Ḥlkuse'men, a Kanhaede chief (N.M.C., upper left, 70837; upper right, 70837-a). (Lower left) Bear Mother right with her cubs, crest of chief Hale of Gitrhahla (N.M.C., 68749). (Centre) The Sea-Lion pole. (N.M.C., old photos)

213. Totems of Gitrhahla. (Centre) Bear Mother and her cubs (N.M.C., 87654). (Right and left) The Raven and Sea-monster poles of chief Klkuse'men, a Kanhaede. (N.M.C., right, 87655; left, 87657)

214. Thunderbird and Whale totem pole of Gitrhahla (Left, N.M.C., 70833½, Jean Ness Findlay; right, N.M.C., 70838)

215. Thunderbird and Sea monster of Gitrhahla. (N.M.C., 87657)

216. The pole commemorating Kapskoltsh, chief of the Kitlawp (people-of-Stone) tribe of the southern Tsimsyan, now standing at the Ethnological Museum of Stockholm, Sweden. (Ethnos, 1935, 137; and by Olof Hanson, 1930)
217. Totem carvings of the southern Tsimsyan or northern Kwakiutl, near Bella Bella. Rev. G. H. Raley's Collection, now at the Museum of the University of British Columbia. (N.M.C., 87343)................. 478

218. The old village of Skidegate, Haida, Queen Charlotte Islands. (G.S.C. 253, G. M. Dawson, Geo. Surv., Canada, July 26, 1878)................. 480

219. Skidegate village. Note the second pole from the left: Captain Patterson's pole, erected in 1833—one of the oldest, if not the oldest, at Skidegate, covered with representations of copper plates. Patterson was a Boston whaler who died at Skidegate. (G.S.C., 254, Dawson, 1878)............. 481

220. Skidegate. (G.S.C., 255, Dawson, 1878).......................... 482

221. Skidegate. (Dawson, 1878, at the Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.).............. 484

222. Base of a totem pole at Skidegate (Left, N.M.C., 102669). Other poles at Skidegate. (Right, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.)................. 485


224. A Skidegate totem pole, one of last few left in 1939. (N.M.C., 87511)........ 487

225. A Skidegate totem pole, as represented in a water-colour by Emily Carr, in 1912. The centre illustrates the myth of Bear Mother. (N.M.C., 70040-b).................................................. 488

226. Pole of the Thunderbird at Skidegate. (From a watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912). The Thunderbird and Beaver totem pole of Skidegate, now standing in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (left, N.M.C., 36-4-48, Arthur Price, right, N.M.C., 70039-b)................. 489

227. Lower part of a Beaver totem pole at Skidegate. (N.M.C., 70034. From a watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912).......................... 490

228. Two totem poles of Skidegate: (Left) showing the Raven (N.M.C., 70034-a), (Right) with the Scannah or Killer-Whale with several dorsal fins. (N.M.C., 70034-b. From watercolours by Emily Carr, 1912)............. 491

229. (Top) A house frontal pole of Skidegate (Old photo, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.). (Bottom) Totem poles and houses and Gold Harbour, central Haida. (Old photo at the Lawson Memorial Library, Univ. of Western Ontario)........................................ 492

230. Totem poles and houses of Gold Harbour. (Presumably by R. Maynard, 1888).................................................. 493

231. Totems and houses at Gold Harbour. (Presumably by Maynard, 1888, McGill University, Montreal)............................... 494

232. Gold Harbour or Xaina or Haina. (Presumably by Maynard, 1888)........ 495

233. Gold Harbour or Haina. (Presumably by Maynard, 1888)................ 496

234. House frontal pole with Thunderbird at Gold Harbour. (Maynard, January, 1888; found at the McGill University Museum).............. 497

235. Presumably the Mountain Goat on the lower part of a totem at Maude Island near Skidegate. (N.M.C., 70044. Watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912).................................................. 498

236. What was left of the former Haida village on Maude Island, near Skidegate. (N.M.C., 25158).................................................. 499
237. Cumshewa village of the southern Haidas. (G.S.C., 244, by G. M. Dawson, July 16, 1878) .......................................................... 500
239. Cumshewa. (G.S.C., 245, by G. M. Dawson, 1878) .......................................................... 502
240. Ruins of totems at Cumshewa. (N.M.C., left, 102689; centre, 102695; right, 102696) .......................................................... 503
241. What was left of a totem at Cumshewa. (N.M.C., 102686) .......................................................... 504
242. A fallen totem at Cumshewa. (N.M.C., 102690) .......................................................... 504
243. Cumshewa totem poles (Left) at Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (Gov't. Travel Bureau, Victoria). (Centre) Totem now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert (N.M.C., 102651). (Right) Totem now in the Thunderbird Park, at Victoria. (N.M.C., 38-7-47, Arthur Price) .......................................................... 505
244. Totems and houses of Skedans, a southeastern Haida village. (Top) Skedans in 1909 (Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., N.Y.). (Bottom) Skedans, in Tales of the Hidery by James Deans, 1885 .......................................................... 506
245. Skedans village at Laskeek Bay. (G.S.C., upper, 249; lower, 242; Dawson, 1878) .......................................................... 507
246. Skedans or Quna. (G.S.C., 248, G. M. Dawson, July 18, 1878) .......................................................... 508
247. Skedans. (G.S.C., 250, by Dawson, 1878.) The second pole from the right, according to Paul Jones of Skidegate, belonged to Na'yuens, a Raven. His main crest was the Grizzly Bear, which he placed at the bottom of the pole. When this pole was removed to the municipal park at Prince Rupert, the top was broken off, and it was replaced by “three witches.” The Shark was at the top. All the crests above the Bear belonged to the owner’s wife, who was a sister of chief Skidegate. The two houses belonged to Xuadze; they were the Houses of the Grizzly Bear. (Informant, W. H. Ross of Skidegate) .......................................................... 509
248. Skedans. (G.S.C., 251, G. M. Dawson, 1878) .......................................................... 510
250. Totem poles of Skedans as they were in 1947. (N.M.C., left, 102714, right, 102712) .......................................................... 513
251. A fallen pole at Skedans in 1947. (N.M.C., 102716) .......................................................... 515
252. Totems of Skedans (Left) as seen in the bush in 1947 (N.M.C., 102701). (Right) In the municipal park at Prince Rupert. (N.M.C., 102640) .......................................................... 512
253. Ruins of totems at Skedans. (N.M.C., left, 102719; right, 102718) .......................................................... 514
254. Tanu village, of the southeastern Haidas, at Laskeek Bay. (G.S.C., 242, G. M. Dawson, July 9, 1878) .......................................................... 514
256. Tanu. (N.M.C., 100800-a. W. A. Newcombe, Victoria, ca. 1903) .......................................................... 515
258. Ruins of the Grizzly-Bear house at Tanu, and the totem pole in front, now in the bush. (N.M.C., left, 102737, right, 102721) .......................................................... 517
259. The Grizzly-Bear pole at Tanu. (N.M.C., left, 102722, right, 102723) 518
260. Tanu totems now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert, B.C. (N.M.C., 102643) 522
261. Tanu totems in the municipal parks at Prince Rupert. (N.M.C., left, 52–4–47; centre, 102624; right, 102634) 523
262. Tanu totems (Right) in the bush. (Left and Centre) In the municipal park at Prince Rupert. (N.M.C., left, 102625; centre, 102653; right, 102751) 519
263. Tanu and Skedans totem poles of the southeastern Haidas. (Left) Tanu or Skedans totem at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington (U.S. Nat. Mus., 38–109), on which figure, from the top down, the Eagle, the Raven, the Bear, the Raven, and the Beaver. (Centre) Totem, presumably from Tanu at the Anthropological Museum of the University of California (Univ California, 15/5391). (Right) Tanu pole at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington (U.S. Nat. Museum). The figures from the top down: the three "Watchmen," Eagle, the ancestress Dzelarhons (with tears falling from her eyes), Strong Man tearing Sea-lion asunder, Grizzly Bear 520
264. Tanu and Cumshewa poles of the southeastern Haidas, now standing in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. Restored and repainted. (Left) Probably from Cumshewa. Collected by A. W. Shield of Bellingham, Washington, 1928. It represents, from the top down: the three "Watchmen," Eagle, possibly Dzelarhons and a frog, and the Whale with Gunahnesemgyet (Orpheus) on its back, head down, and face in the blow hole. (Right) Mortuary pole from Tanu or Cumshewa, collected by C. F. Newcombe. Figures, from top down: Thunderbird, Raven, and Beaver 524
265. Tanu totem pole and figures, now partly at Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C., representing the Thunderbird capturing the Whale. The Whale is about 16 feet long. (Upper, W. A. Newcombe 1903; lower, N.M.C., 102523) 525
266. Grave posts and totems at Ninstints on Anthony Island, at the southwestern end of Moresby Island on the Queen Charlotte Islands. The central burial post shows the crests of chief Kanskinai: Thunderbird and Son or Moon, Whale, and Grizzly Bear. This is the only old photograph as yet discovered of this remote Haida village long since abandoned. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.) 525
267. Ninstints poles as they were found in the bush, after the thick brush was cleared away. (Right) Beaver, and under it, a row of small human figures close to the ground. (Centre) Whale or Double-finned Skannah. (Left) Beaver. (N.M.C., 102781) 526
268. Totems at Ninstints, the same as in Figure 81, seen from another side. (N.M.C., left, 102766; centre, 102751; right, 102753) 527
269. The Beaver totems of Ninstints. (N.M.C., left, 102782; right, 102783) 528
270. Totems of Ninstints. (N.M.C., left, 102774; centre, 102771; right, 102760) 529
271. Eagle and Beaver totems of Ninstints. (N.M.C., left, 102787; centre, 102788; right, 102750) 530
272. Grizzly-Bear totems of Ninstints. (N.M.C., left, 102769; centre, 102761; right, 102759). 531

273. Totems of Ninstints, one of which is the Grizzly Bear. (N.M.C., left, 102763; right, 102758). 532

274. Eagle, Grizzly-Bear, and Beaver totems at Ninstints. (N.M.C., left, 102770; centre, 102767; right, 102757). 533

275. Grizzly-Bear house-front entrance pole at Ninstints. (Lower part) Grizzly Bear and the Woman hanging, head down, from his mouth; and Bear Mother and her cubs. (Upper part) Possibly Raven and Dzelarhons with frogs issuing from her mouth. (N.M.C., left, 102782; right, 102786). 534

276. (Left) Totem pole of Ninstints (Haida) now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert. Figures from the top down: Raven, Whale, Beaver, Thunderbird, Whale or Killer-Whale, Seal or Sea-Lion. (Right) The only totem left at Kaisun, a southwestern Haida village. The figures, from the top down, seem to be: Raven, Grizzly Bear, and two human beings on both sides of the fin of the Killer-Whale—they presumably represent Gunarhnesemgyet (Orpheus) and his deceased wife; the head of the Killer-Whale. (N.M.C., left, 102631; right, 102793). 535

277. (Top) The long-deserted village of Ninstints (N.M.C., 102792). (Bottom) The Anget pole of Ninstints now standing in the municipal park of Prince Rupert. Figures: the top is a meaningless restored carving; Eagle; Grizzly Bear, with small frog-like figure in his mouth; Grizzly Bear carrying the young woman, hanging, head down, from his mouth. (N.M.C., left, 102652; right, 102626). 536

278. Houses and totems of Kung village in Virago Sound on Graham Island, northern Queen Charlotte Islands. (G.S.C., 264, G. M. Dawson, 1878) 537

279. A totem lost in the forest at the old abandoned village of Kyusta, close to Langara or North Island, at the northwestern end of Graham Island. (N.M.C., 87500). 538

280. Parts of poles in the forest at Kyusta. (N.M.C., left, 87480) 539

281. Fishing village on Lucy Island or North Island, with a single totem pole. (G.S.C., 268, G. M. Dawson, 1878) 540

282. A unique totem carving, and one of the oldest, carved out of three logs fixed together side by side as one. Apparently representing the Grizzly Bear and the Bear cubs. At Kyusta, at the northwestern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. (N.M.C., 87483). 541

283. Totems, houses, and natives of Yan, an old Haida village opposite Massett, on northern Queen Charlotte Islands. (E. Doss, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y., ca. 1880). 542

284. Among the last totems left at Yan; they are moss-covered. Northern Queen Charlotte Islands. (Nat. Film Board, Canada, ca. 1942). 543

285. Totem poles of Yan; among the last left out of a long row. (N.M.C., top left, 87491; top right, 103053; lower left, 87518; lower centre, 103059; lower right, 87485). 544
286. Totems of Yan. (N.M.C., top left, 87487; lower left, 145–5–39; top right, Nat. Film Board, Canada, 1942) ................................. 545
287. Totem of Yan, old and moss-covered. (Nat. Film Board, Canada) ........ 545
288. The Eagle at Yan. (N.M.C., left, 87494) ........................................ 546
289. An Eagle post at Yan. (N.M.C., 70041-b; Watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912) ................................................................. 547
290. Haida village of Massett, about 1880. (Looking northwards). (N.M.C., 101210) ................................................................. 548
291. Massett, looking southwards into Massett Inlet. (G.S.C., top, 259; lower, 261, G. M. Dawson, Geo. Surv., Canada, August, 1878) .......... 549
292. Massett, looking northwards. (N.M.C., 100454, ca. 1878, presumably by G. M. Dawson) .................................................. 550
293. Massett totems and houses. (Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., N.Y., ca. 1880) ........................................................................ 551
295. Massett totems. (R. Maynard, Victoria, 1888) ................................. 553
297. Massett. (Old photo., ca. 1880, N.M.C., 101214) ......................... 555
298. Massett. (R. Maynard, Victoria, 1888) ......................................... 556
300. Massett totems. Chief Wiah’s house and totems. (McGill Univ. Mus., Montreal) ................................................................. 558
302. Massett totems with the Grizzly Bear and the Raven. (N.M.C., 100456, old photos) .......................................................... 562
303. A Massett pole — a chief holding a copper shield. (B.C. Travel Bureau, 3687) ................................................................. 563
304. Grave poles in ruins near Massett. Skulls and human bones were found near them. (Centre) An Eagle pole near Massett. (N.M.C., left and right, 46686; centre, 46688, H. I. Smith) ........................................ 564
305. (Left) An unidentified Haida pole (next to a Mexican carved stone pillar) at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in 1916. Its main figures are the Killer-Whale, and the Grizzly Bear carrying away the young woman .................................................................................. 565
306. Totems and house poles in an abandoned village of the northern Haidas on Graham Island. (N.M.C., 100457, from old photo) .... 566
307. Haida totems without information about their former location. (Left) At the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. No. 38-109A. (Centre) A human-like figure, also at the Smithsonian. No. 38–121. (Right)
A totem formerly belonging to the Pennsylvania University Museum, now at the Denver Art Museum, Colorado. The two large and the smaller figures in the lower half illustrate the Bear-Mother myth. (Smithsonian Institute and the Denver Art Museum).

308. (Left) Massett house post showing Bird-of-the-Air, and Gunarhnesemgyet (Orpheus) and his wife riding on the back of the Whale to the lower world (N.M.C., 20513, old photo). (Right) Haida totem pole presumably from one of the southeastern villages — in a municipal park at Prince Rupert. The figures are (from the top down) the Three "Watchmen"; the Eagle; the old Volcano Woman with the cane; Dzelarhons, the ancestress, with tears dropping from her eyes; and the Raven. (N.M.C.).

309. Haida totem poles from a southeastern village of Moresby Island, now standing in the municipal park at Prince Rupert. The central pole, of the Eagle, was Captain Khlu's of Skedans. The lower figure is Strong Man and the Whale. Carved about 70 or more years ago. All the Prince Rupert poles have been restored and gaudily repainted. (N.M.C.)


313. Old Kasaan. (In foreground) Totems of chief Skowl: Raven stealing the Sun; Raven putting back his beak after having lost it on the hook of the Halibut Fisherman; Grizzly Bear and the young Woman or the cubs. (Taken in 1885 by Lieut. G. T. Emmons, Smithsonian Institution, Washington).

314. Totem pole with Raven stealing the Sun; Butterfly on his lap, in the centre; Grizzly Bear, at the bottom. Presumably of chief Skowl. (N.M.C., 99395, in Waters Collection, at Wrangell, Alaska)


317. Totems and remains of a community house at Old Kasaan. (U.S.Forest Service, Washington, 253205)

318. Totems at Old Kasaan. Among the crests here, from left to right, are: Eagle, Grizzly Bear and the young woman, Beaver, a chief, a rattle design, Bear Mother. (Right) Figurehead of a ship — a white man on scrolls, Raven, Strong Man tearing up a sea-lion. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 253905)

319. Totems at Old Kasaan. Same figures as in 318. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 253910)

320. Totems at Old Kasaan. (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and in the Waters Collection at Wrangell)
321. Totems at Old Kasaan. The white man at the top of the pole to the right represents the figurehead of a ship, presumably a “Boston” ship engaged in fur-trading along the Alaska coast. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 253912) ................................. 581

322. Some totems at Old Kasaan (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 253209). ................................. 582

323. Some totems at Old Kasaan, at a later date. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ................................. 583

324. Totems and houses at Old Kasaan (From old photos). (Inset) Kasaan totem pole now standing outside the Museum of the American Indian, N.Y. (M.A.I., 22720, height 43 feet 5 inches; weight, 4,490 pounds). This pole was the central one in the old photo of Kasaan. Its crests, from the top down, are: Eagle, 3 cylinders; Grizzly Bear; Grizzly Bear carrying the young woman, head down; (bottom) Beaver, the hunter with a bow. ................................. 584

325. The same poles at Old Kasaan. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ................................. 585


327. Totems and houses at Old Kasaan. (Old photo) ................................. 587

328. Totem pole and ruins of the old house of Chief Soa-i-hat at Old Kasaan. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 384919) ................................. 588

329. Eagle, Beaver, and Grizzly-Bear totems at Old Kasaan. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179229, 179231) ................................. 589

330. Totems at Old Kasaan. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179215) ................................. 590

331. Totems of Old Kasaan. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 253911, 179217, 384921) ................................. 591

332. Totems at Old Kasaan. Strong Man capturing whales. (N.M.C., 99400, Waters Collection, Wrangell) ................................. 592

333. (Left) Totem at Old Kasaan. The Eagle at the top. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y., 24430) (Right) Chief Son-i-hat’s Halibut house and totem at Old Kasaan. Crests on the totem (from top down): two “Watchmen”, and presumably the face of a white man between them; Bear Mother and two cubs; Raven, Thunderbird, and Whale; Beaver. After their restoration and painting in a park in Alaska. ................................. 593

334. Kaigani poles of the Haidas of Prince of Wales Island, southern Alaska. In a public museum. (N.M.C., 101211, old photo) ................................. 594

335. The Eagle totem, in an old village of the Haidas on Prince of Wales Island in southern Alaska - probably at Old Kasaan. ................................. 594

336. A totem from Old Kasaan, now repainted and standing in the park at Sitka, Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179224) ................................. 595

337. Totems and house at Howkan, a Kaigani Haida village of Prince of Wales Island. (Jour. of Anthrop. Inst., London. Vol. 33, 1903) ................................. 595

338. Totems of Howkan. (Left) Figure of a bearded Russian, Eagle, etc. (Second Left) Strong Man springing a trap to capture sea-monsters; his mother-in-law shaking a witch’s rattles; Raven and presumably the Butterfly; Gunarhnesemgyet on the back of Whale. (Third) Whale, a tall series of cylinders, Grizzly Bear. (Right) Eagle, a chief; Strong Man with his trap; two whales; Grizzly Bear. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.) ................................. 596
339. Howkan house and totems. (Left) The same as 338. (Right) Presumably Raven and Butterfly, etc. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179194, 179196) .......................................................... 596

340. (Left) Totem from old Sukkwan village (near Hydaburg), Prince of Wales Island. Crests: Strong Man capturing two whales; his mother-in-law, etc. (Centre) the Fireweed pole at the Sukkwan Narrows. (Right) Possibly Gunarhnesemgyet on the back of the Whale. (Edward L. Keithahn, Juneau, Alaska) ........................................ 597

341. The Old Woman of Saxman near Ketchikan, Alaska. (Schallerer, Ketchikan) .................................................. 598

342. Totems and houses in two unidentified villages of the northern Haidas or Kaiganis. (Old photos, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.; copied by Lunt in 1909) .................................................. 600


344. Inside pole of Edward Edensaw's house at the Haida village of Kung, on Graham Island. (Lieut. G. T. Emmons, 1913, reproduced in Dyn 4-5, 25) .................................................. 599


346. Kaigani Haida pole, from a village on Prince of Wales Island. The myth of Strong Man, his mother-in-law, and the captured sea-monsters seem to be illustrated here. (Left, N.M.C., 99398, Waters Collection, Wrangell.) (Right) Northern Haida pole now standing in the court at the Museum of Modern Art, New York; on extended loan from the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 32 feet in height, repainted. Collected in 1939. Crests represented (from the top down): Eagle, Strong Man tearing a sea-lion in halves; the same figure repeated; Eagle or Bird-of-the-Air; Gunarhnesemgyet (Orpheus) riding to the lower world on the back of Killer-Whale; Grizzly Bear, also on Whale .................................................. 601

347. Totem pole carved by John Wallace, a Kaigani Haida, in 1937. Standing at Hydaburg; made at Waterfall, Prince of Wales Island. Crests: Eagle; Strong Man and the Sea-Lion; presumably his mother-in-law; Strong Man and Sea-Lion repeated; Raven; Strong Man capturing two whales .................................................. 600

348. The old village site of Tongas (Tlingit), southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington) .......................... 602

349. Totems of Tongas. (N.M.C., 72937; insert, 72932) .......... 603

350. Totems of Tongas. (N.M.C., top, 72935, centre and lower, 72936) .................................................. 604

351. Totems of Tongas. (Left to right, N.M.C., (a and b) 72945; (c-f) 72944; (g) 72927; (h) 72926) ........ 605

352. Killer-Whale or Konakadet and Grizzly-Bear totems at Ketchikan (Tlingit). (Old photos) .................................................. 606


354. A Haida totem with Eagle, Beaver, Grizzly Bear, standing near a curiosity shop in Ketchikan. (N.M.C., 87631) .......... 608
355. The two fairly new totems, left and right, are those of Chief Neesloot (Tlingit) at Ketchikan. (Centre) The Kian totem at Ketchikan (Schallerer). The main crests are Thunderbird, Beaver, Raven, Grizzly Bear. 609


357. The Kayak totem pole of Wrangell. (Left) Erected in memory of Kaukish in 1897. It shows the Thunderbird at the top and the one-legged fisherman Kayak and his strings of salmon. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 611

358. The same Kayak totem. (N.M.C., left, 102930; right, 102929) 612

359. A Strong-Man or Konakadet totem, as it formerly stood at Wrangell. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 613

360. The Konakadet pole after it was cut in sections and kept at the Alaska Historical Library and Museum at Juneau, Alaska. (N.M.C., upper left, 102946; upper right, 102945; lower left, 102973; lower right, 102974) 614

361. The totems of Shaiks, head-chief of the Tlingits, at Wrangell. (Right, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y., left, N.M.C., 87524) 615

362. (Centre) Chief Shaiks pole erected at Wrangell in 1896. It shows Raven and, below, Raven and his son. (Left and right) The Kadishan totems of Wrangell. (N.M.C.) 619

363. The totem of Kilteen, a Kiksadi Chief of Wrangell; erected about 1900. The main figure, at the top, is Person-of-the-Glacier. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington) 616

364. Kadishan totems (right and left) at Wrangell. (Centre) Wrangell totem. (Thwaites, 1908) 624

365. Raven, a flying quadruped, on a post in the graveyard at Wrangell 625

366. Graveyard figures of the Whale in commemoration of Chief Kowishke at Wrangell (N.M.C.) 625

367. The One-legged-Fisherman and his strings of salmon, with Thunderbird above him, and Grizzly Bear, as seen in 1879 by John Muir at Old Wrangell — the oldest Tlingit totems. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 626


369. Totems on Cat Island, Tongas. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 24109A) 628

370. Old Tlingit village site on Cat Island, Tongas group. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179192) 629

371. Tlingit totems at Tuxecan, southern Alaska. (Old photos) 628

372. A Konakadet pole in the bush, southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179184) 629

373. Totems at Tuxecan, Alaska. (Centre, Thwaites; lower, U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 179218) 630
375. Tlingit house post, presumably from a northern village, now at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. (Smithsonian Inst., Washington) ... 632
376. (Left) Tlingit house post. (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 26th Annual Rept., 1904-1905). (Top) Katalla house posts, the northernmost carvings of this type (Smithsonian Inst., Washington). (Right) Carved house post at the Alaska Historical Library and Museum, Juneau. (N.M.C., 102965) ................................................................. 633
378. Bella Coola village of Komkotes. (Photo made from a lantern slide loaned by Iver Fougner, Indian agent, N.M.C.) ................................................................. 635
380. Bella Coola carved pole and house with Thunderbird, at Komkotes. (Photo, same sources as 193) ................................................................. 638
383. Bella Coola. (From an old negative belonging to the Fougners) .......... 637
384. The house and carving of old Cleleman in Bella Coola. (Harlan I. Smith, 1920, N.M.C., 50256) ................................................................. 641
385. Tallio village, Bella Coola, South Bentinck Arm. (W. A. Newcombe, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ................................................................. 642
387. Tallio, Bella Coola. (W. A. Newcombe, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ... 642
388. House front pole from Tallio, Bella Coola, in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (B.C. Gov't. Travel Bureau) ................................................................. 644
389. Bella Coola house portal showing, at the top, Eagle and Sun. The two figures with long sharp nose presumably represent the giant Cannibal; Beaver appears under the upper Cannibal. (N.M.C., left, 50267; right, 99693) ................................................................. 645
390. Bella Coola house posts. (N.M.C., 35-8-47, and Arthur Price) ............ 646
391. Bella Coola grave box on the back of Eagle, at the former village of Komkotes. Photographed before 1909, when it was collected by Harlan I. Smith for the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., N.Y. (From a lantern slide loaned by Iver Fougner) ................................................................. 647
392. Grave house posts presumably from the Bella Coolas. (N.M.C., left, 73633; right, 73622) ................................................................. 648
393. Bella Coola carved human figure with outstretched arms for the back, inside, of a communal house. (N.M.C., 99695) ................................................................. 648
394. Totem figures of southern Tsimsyan or of Bella Bella origin, from the neighbourhood of Hartley Bay, in the Raley Collection, now at the museum of the University of British Columbia. Figures: the man on the back of the Eagle (in a myth), the Whale, the Bear. (N.M.C., left, 87346; right, 87348) ................................................................. 649
395. In the Bella Coola country. (N.M.C., 52035, Harlan I. Smith)......650
396. Graveyard carvings of the Bella Coolas at Taliho, south Bentinck Arm. 
(Harlan I. Smith, N.M.C., left, 50266; right, 50264)..............649
397. Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, children, and grandchildren, members of the Kyinanuk 
clan of Tongas, Tlingit, established at Fort Rupert, Kwakiutl. The 
old-bearded man was the Indian Agent. (G.S.C., 720, G. M. Dawson, 
1885, Geol. Surv., Canada)..............652
398. (Top) The Hunt sisters at Fort Rupert. Elizabeth, the second from the left. 
(Bottom) Bill (William) Hunt, their brother. (From a negative 
in the possession of the Hunt family)..............653
399. (Left) The Raven totem pole of Tongas (Tlingit) belonging to the 
Kyinanuk family, taken to Seattle and planted there (J. R. Swanton, 
Jour. Amer. Folklore, April 1905, p. 108) (N.M.C.). Two photos of the 
(Kwakiutl) Raven pole reproduced for the Hunt family at Fort 
Rupert. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.)..............656
400. A Hunt totem pole at Fort Rupert. It has been acquired recently by the 
author and Arthur Price for the University of British Columbia. In 
the centre of the pole, head down, is the Dragon; and at the top, 
presumably, the maiden. (Left, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.; right, 
N.M.C., 103071)..............655
401. The totem pole of David Hunt at Fort Rupert. Figures from the top down: 
Raven, man and frog, Grizzly Bear holding seal, Raven, Killer-Whale, 
Sea Eagle. (N.M.C., 103070)..............657
402. Group of Kwakiutls and half-breeds at Fort Rupert in September, 1885: 
and painted house front. (G. M. Dawson, Geol. Surv., Canada, 721)........658
Nat. Hist.)..............660
405. Graveyard pole commemorating Hegwugyelagwaw, at Fort Rupert, 
showing the Thunderbird and Tsonokwaw, the mythic woman. 
(N.M.C., left, 103074; right, 103102)..............661
406. Graveyard pole at Fort Rupert (profile) (N.M.C., 103108)..............662
407. (Top) Graveyard monument of Kwakwabales at Fort Rupert, with the Sun 
emblem (N.M.C.). (Bottom) Graveyard commemoration of 
Tsawlarlehlihaakwe at Fort Rupert, showing Thunderbird, Grizzly 
Bear biting a copper, and Tsonokwaw. (N.M.C., upper, 103078; 
lower, 103072)..............663
408. The Sea-lion and Thunderbird house, and other poles in its close neigh­ 
bourhood at Fort Rupert. Collected by the author and Arthur Price 
for the University of British Columbia in 1947. (N.M.C., top, 103109; 
centre top, 103083; centre bottom, 103113; bottom, 103082)........664
409. (Left) The Speak-through post in a communal house at Fort Rupert. 
(Centre) A tall flagpole surmounted by Raven, at Fort Rupert. 
(Right) A pole which has now disappeared, also at Fort Rupert. 
(Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.)..............665
410. Alert Bay before many carved poles had been erected. (Amer. Mus. Nat. 
Hist., N.Y., ca. 1885)..............666
411. (Top) The Alert Bay graveyard (R. Maynard, Victoria, September, 1888. In the files of the McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal). (Bottom) Alert Bay after the poles had been erected. (Douglas and Johnston, Victoria, ca. 1905) ........................................... 667

412. Alert Bay, looking northwards. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.; Thunderbird, the harpooner, and the whale, in the foreground) .......................... 668


414. Alert Bay. Thunderbird, the harpooner next to Dragon, Killer-Whale, and the man in its dorsal fin, Sea-Lion, Bear Mother and her cub. Eagle on the two flag poles to the right. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ....... 670


417. Thunderbird of Wawkyas of Alert Bay, now the tallest in Stanley Park, Vancouver. The beak of Raven, when opening at the bottom, served as ceremonial entrance into the feast house. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ........................................... 674

418. (The two to the left) Thunderbird of Wawkyas, Alert Bay and Vancouver. The two poles to the right (from top to bottom): Thunderbird, Wise-One, Whale, Squirrel and the cone, Grizzly Bear, etc. (N.M.C., left, C-11-47; left centre, C-15-47; right centre, C-11-47; right, C-15-47, Arthur Price) 675

419. Alert Bay in 1912 (N.M.C., 70029, from a watercolour by Emily Carr) .... 676

420. Alert Bay in 1912. (N.M.C., 70038. Watercolour by Emily Carr) ........ 678

421. In Alert Bay, 1912. (N.M.C., 70035-A. Watercolour by Emily Carr) ..... 679

422. Poles at Alert Bay. (Left) In the graveyard. (Centre) Also in the graveyard. (Right) Raven-of-the-Sea of Kwawrilanukumi, of Alert Bay, now at the Univ. of B.C., collected by Barbeau and Price. (N.M.C., left, 103183; centre, 103187; right, 103195, Arthur Price, 1947) ...... 680

423. (Left) The Sea-Lion house post of Daniel Cranmer, Alert Bay. (Right) Thunderbird, Bear Mother and a cub, at Alert Bay. (N.M.C., left, 103194; right, C-1-47, Price Arthur) ........................................... 681


425. Poles in the graveyard, Alert Bay. (Left) Thunderbird, Whale, Grizzly Bear, the Bullhead. (Centre) Thunderbird, Bear Mother and cub. (Right) Thunderbird, Killer-Whale, Man with copper. Speak-through. (N.M.C., left, 103196; right, 103198, Arthur Price) 683

426. Graveyard figures at Alert Bay. (B.C. Gov't Travel Bureau) ............. 684

427. The Sinsintlae pole of the Nimkish at Alert Bay; Sun, Speaker of the clan, and coppers. (From a drawing by Dr. Franz Boas, 21:338) .......... 684

428. Alert Bay house posts at the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., N.Y. ............. 686

430. (Top) Pole at Karlukwees village, Kwakiutl. (Centre) Grave post at Karlukwees. (Right) Fallen pole at Karlukwees. (F. J. Barrow, 1935) 687

431. The Kwakiutl village of Blunden Harbour, Queen Charlotte Sound. (N.M.C., 99682, C. F. Newcombe, March, 1901, from which Emily Carr painted her Blunden Harbour, now at the National Gallery of Canada) 688

432. Totem carving at Kingcome Inlet, Kwakiutl. (B.C. Gov't Travel Bureau, Victoria) 690


434. Koskimo village, Kwakiutl. (Old photo) 691

435. Figures holding up a large beam in the house of Sweit, at Koskimo, Kwakiutl. (Old photo) 694

436. Mamalikula or Village Island, on Turnour Island, Kwakiutl. (F. J. Barrow, 1935) 692

437. (Top) Kwakiutl village of Kwayustums, Gilford Island (G.S.C., 725, G. M. Dawson, September, 1885). (Bottom) The Kwakiutl village of Mamalikula. (G.S.C., 724, G. M. Dawson, 1885) 693

438. Kwakiutl village on Turnour Island (G.S.C., 722, Dawson, 1885) 695


440. Natives and totems midway up the B.C. coast (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 697

441. In a Kwakiutl village. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 698

442. Tsawati village, Knight Inlet. (N.M.C., 100478, C. F. Newcombe, 1901). 698


444. In a Kwakiutl village of Knight Inlet. (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 701

445. Kwakiutl village. (N.M.C. 70035. From a watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912) 702

446. Tsawati village, Kwakiutl, Knight Inlet. (C. F. Newcombe, 1901, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) 703

447. Kwakiutl house posts and cross beam at Cape Mudge. Purchased by Harlan I. Smith for the N.M.C. (N.M.C., 72808) 704

448. The same poles (447) at the National Museum of Canada. (N.M.C., 99701) 705

449. Three graveyard posts at Cape Mudge, Kwakiutl. (N.M.C., left, 72806; centre, 72805; right, 72804, Harlan I. Smith) 706

450. The same figures of Cape Mudge. (N.M.C., 72807 Harlan I. Smith) 707

451. (Left) Kwakiutl totem at Campbell River. (Right) Kwakiutl totem at Cape Mudge. (N.M.C., left, 91147; right, 72809) 708

452. (Left) Kwakiutl totem at Karlukwees village. (F. J. Barrow, 1935). (Right) Kwakiutl totem. (N.M.C.) 709


455. Costumed Kwakiutls at the foot of their totems. (Old photo, taken about 1885) 711

456. Kwakiutl pole with Thunderbird, now in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (N.M.C., 37-6-47, Arthur Price) 712

457. Kwakiutl house and totem. The figures are Whale carrying a person, Gunarhnesemgyet or his wife, to the lower world; Eagle at the top. (From a watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912; N.M.C., 70045) 713

458. In a Kwakiutl village (Watercolour by Emily Carr, 1912; N.M.C., 70030). 714

459. In a Kwakiutl village. (Wood engraving by Walter J. Phillips in Essays in Wood, Toronto; N.M.C., 99725) 715

460. Carved post in a Kwakiutl village (Wood engraving by Walter J. Phillips); an Indian carrying a barrel presumably of rum. (In Essays in Wood, Toronto) 716

461. In a Kwakiutl village. (Wood engraving by Walter J. Phillips; Essays in Wood, Toronto) 717


463. Kwakiutl poles in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 39-3-47; centre, 39-2-47; right, 40-7-47, Arthur Price) 719

464. Kwakiutl poles in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 24-6-47; centre, 40-7-47; right, 41-8-47, Arthur Price) 720

465. Kwakiutl poles. (Left) In Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., 39-7-47, Arthur Price; right, B.C. Gov't Travel Bureau, Victoria) 721


467A. Nootka totem pole at Friendly Cove, Vancouver Island 726

468. Totem and house poles of the Kwakiutls and Nootkas, at Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 23-4-47; right, 36-3-47, Arthur Price) 725

469. Nootka carved post with human figure, at Friendly Cove, Vancouver Island, 8 feet tall. (N.M.C., left, 64-5-47; right, 64-3-47, Arthur Price) 727

470. Nootka totem pole, fallen, at Friendly Cove, Vancouver Island, 48 feet long. (N.M.C., 66-6-47, Arthur Price) 728

472. Chief Ambrose Maquinna of the Nootkas, with tourists, at the Lord
Willindon totem, Friendly Cove, Vancouver Island. (Amer. Mus.
Nat. Hist., N.Y.) ......................................................... 730

473. Two Nootka poles, 12 feet high, in front of Chief Maquinna's house at
Friendly Cove. Young Maquinna, in the sweater, was 26 years old in
1947. He is a descendant in the paternal line of the famous Maquinna,
in the days of Captain Cook, 1778. (N.M.C., 64-8-47, Arthur Price) 733

474. The same poles, at Friendly Cove. (N.M.C., 66-3-47, Arthur Price) 734

475. Nootka totem, 24 feet 26 inches tall, at Ehatisaht or Zeballos, Vancouver
Island. Owned by Nick Nicholson. Carved by Denangust of Eheresa-
saht, after he was blind. (B.C. Travel Bureau, Victoria, B.C.) .... 732

476. Totem of Major Nichelson, 7 feet tall, at Zeballos, Nootka, Vancouver
Island (N.M.C., 69-1-47, Arthur Price) ........................................ 735

477. Nootka post from Ahousaht village, No. 33-90-10, 1890. At the Peabody
Museum, Harvard University. (Peabody Museum, Harvard Univer-
sity) ................................................................. 732

478. (Left) Carved post at Sarita, Barkley Sound, Vancouver Island. (Amer.
Mus. Nat. Hist.). (Right) Carved post and house poles at Friendly
Cove. (W. A. Newcombe, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.) .................... 740

479. (Left and centre) Carved post of the Nootkas at Sarita, Barkley Sound,
in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., left, 37-5-47; centre,
37-1-47; right, 37-2-47, Arthur Price) ....................................... 740

480. Tsawati house posts, Kwakiutl, at Knight Inlet (W. A. Newcombe) .... 741

481. Carved posts presumably of the Kwakiutl. (Mildred Valley Thornton,
Vancouver) ........................................................................ 741

482. Carved posts, presumably in a graveyard at Salmon River, from “Dr.
Powell Indian grave.” (Dossetter, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N.Y.) .... 741

483. Salish house and carved post. (McCord National Museum, McGill
University, Montreal) ......................................................... 741

484. Salish posts (Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.) .................................. 742

485. Salish posts in Thunderbird Park, Victoria, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 48-1-47;
centre, 40-5-47; right, 48-2-47, Arthur Price) ......................... 742

486. Salish posts from Comox at the home of A. B. Dundas, Courtenay, B.C. 743

487. (Left) Salish painting of a human face (N.M.C., 72787). (Right) Carving
from Comox, now at the home of A. B. Dundas, Courtenay, B.C.
(N.M.C., 72799) .................................................................. 744


489. Salish inside pole, now at Victoria, B.C. (N. M. C., 35-5-47, Arthur Price) 745


491. Heraldic column from Xumta'spe. (From Boas' U.S. Rep., 1895; Amer.
Mus. Nat. Hist.) ................................................................. 745

492. Carved house posts of the Coast Salish, 2 miles below Duncan, B.C.
These formerly were inside the house. (N.M.C., 72841, Harlan I.
Smith) ............................................................................. 746
493. Carved Salish house posts at Quamichan, B.C., about 2 miles below Duncan; these are said to represent Scowmidgeon (the Sea Otter). (N.M.C., 72867, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 749

494. Salish house posts at Quamichan, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 72856, right, 72855, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 750

495. Salish house posts at Quamichan, B.C. (N.M.C., left, 72857; right, 72854, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 751

496. Graveyard carving, Salish, said to represent Scowmidgeon, of Patricia Bay, Saanich Peninsula, B.C. Now at the N.M.C. (N.M.C., 72843, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 752

497. Graveyard figures of the Coast Salish. (N.M.C., 72842, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 753

498. Salish grave, presumably representing the Sea Otter. Now at the National Museum of Canada. (N.M.C., 71406, Harlan I. Smith) ................................................... 754


501. Tall Salish carvings now standing in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., left, 36–5–47; right, 36–1–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 756

502. Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., left, 38–3–47; right, 38–4–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 757

503. Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., 47–4–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 758

504. Salish house posts in Thunderbird Park, Victoria. (N.M.C., 38–6–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 759

505. Salish house post from the former Indian village south of Point Grey, Vancouver. Now at the University of British Columbia. (N.M.C., 42–1–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 760

506. Salish house post: the hunter and the bear crawling out of its den. From the same Indian village. At the University of British Columbia. (N.M.C., 43–4–47, Arthur Price) ................................................... 761

507. Carved post of the Quileutes, Beaver Prairie, Clallam County, Washington. At the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. ................................................... 761


510. Painted house front of the Kwakiutls at Fort Rupert, in August, 1885. Thunderbird and Sun and Grizzly Bear. (G.S.C., 706, G. M. Dawson, Geol. Surv., Canada) ................................................... 778

512. The Thunderbird and the Whale painted on a house front of the Koskimos at Quatsino Sound, Nootka, north Vancouver Island. (Old photo, found in Victoria, in 1915)


514. A Tlingit totem pole carver handling an adze. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 412074)

515. Carving totem poles under the C.C.C. Project, about 1839, among the Tlingits of southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 412960, 384899)

516. Carving a totem pole under the C.C.C. Project, among the Tlingits of southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, 412939)

517. Carving a totem pole at Wrangell.


520. Raising a totem pole among the Kaigani Haidas, southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 412959)

521. Interior of a Nootka house, with carved posts, on the western side of Vancouver Island, as represented by Webber, for Captain James Cook, in 1778, 1779. (See Bibl. 27)

522. House-front totem presumably at Kyusta, a Haida village on the northwestern tip of the Queen Charlotte Islands. In John Bartlett’s A Narrative... in 1790–1793. (See Bibl. 91)

523. A human-like figure seen and drawn in 1790 in a Nootka house on the northwestern side of Vancouver Island, and reproduced in the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana. (See Bibl. 108)

524. A mortuary pole at Yakutat, a northern Tlingit village in Alaska, in 1792. (Don Alejandro Malespina in Viaje Alrededor del Mundo, 1789–1794)


526. Watercolour showing a carved pole and a portal in the palisade, by Paul Kane of “A battle” among the Indians of Washington near Strait Juan de Fuca (1845–1848). (At the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto)
527. Another watercolour by Paul Kane, showing a portal in the palisade at
the same Salish village. (Also at the Royal Ontario Museum) ............. 814

528. An ancient megalithic memorial at the canyon of Gitsalas, Skeena River
— a standing stone, about 10 feet high above the ground. (N.M.C.,
69728, See Barbeau’s Totem Poles of the Gitksan, p. 273) ................. 814

529. “A view of Cunneaw’s Village on Queen Charlotte Island called Kiusta”
(Kiusta village on the northwestern end of the Islands), from the
Journal of the ship Eliza (1799). (Reproduced through the courtesy
of the Massachusetts Historical Society) ........................................ 815

530. Harlan I. Smith, archaeologist of the National Museum of Canada, while
engaged on the work of restoration of totem pole on upper Skeena
River in 1929. (N.M.C., 65450) .................................................. 822

531. A totem pole of Angyadae on the Nass River being removed to the Royal
Ontario Museum, Toronto, in 1929. (N.M.C., 73040) .......................... 823

532. Totem poles of Angyadae on Nass River being towed to Prince Rupert,
on their way to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. (N.M.C.,
73044) ...................................................................................... 824

533. T. B. Campbell, engineer of the Canadian National Railways, and his
workmen restoring totem poles at Kitwanga on upper Skeena River,
in 1928. (N.M.C., 64331, Harlan I. Smith) ..................................... 826

534. The totem pole of the Giladal and Naeg at Kitwanga on Skeena River,
being taken down for restoration in 1928. (N.M.C., 64344) ............... 827

535. A house frontal pole at Kitwanga as it was, on the ground, before its
restoration. (N.M.C., 65360) ..................................................... 828

536. The same pole (535) after it was restored and re-erected. (N.M.C., 68078,
Harlan I. Smith) ........................................................................ 829

537. The old totem pole of Naeg at Kitwanga on Skeena River, placed under
shelter for conservation. (N.M.C., 65117, Harlan I. Smith) ............... 830

538. A Gitksan carver at Kitwanga, engaged on restoration work, in 1928.
(N.M.C., 65246, Harlan I. Smith) ............................................... 832

539. Labourers on restoration work, 1928. (N.M.C., 65302, Harlan I. Smith) .. 833

540. A totem after it was re-erected, seen from behind, with its inner support.
(N.M.C., 65278, Harlan I. Smith) .................................................. 834

541. The cement base of a restored totem pole. (N.M.C., 65585, Harlan I. Smith) 836

542. Label on a restored totem pole, explaining its history and figures. (N.M.C.,
65449, Harlan I. Smith) ............................................................. 836

543. A collection of restored and newly carved Tlingit poles in a park of
southern Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 412063) ............. 837

544. Tlingit totems either restored or newly carved in public parks in southern
Alaska. (U.S. Forest Service, Washington) ....................................... 838

545. Tlingit totems, newly carved or restored as part of the C.C.C. project
of the U.S. Forest Service, in the totem park at Saxman, Ketchikan.
(N.M.C., left, 102863; right, 102862) .......................................... 839

546. Tlingit totems in the park at Saxman. (N.M.C., left; right, U.S. Forest
Service, Washington, 412949) ................................................... 840
547. Tlingit totems in the park at Saxman. (N.M.C., top left, 102865½; top right, 102855). .................................................. 841

548. Tlingit totems at Saxman. (N.M.C., left, 102853; centre left, 102847; centre right, 102846; right, 102854). .................. 842

549. Carved Frogs, Tlingit, in the totem park at Saxman. (N.M.C., 102856). .................................................. 842


551. Row of restored Kaigani and Haida totems in the totem parks at Klawock (top), and Hydaburg (below). (U.S. Forest Service, Washington, 412056, etc.). .................................................. 844

552. A restored Tlingit totem, Thunderbirds of which, with spread-out wings, remind one of the Alert Bay totems of the Kwakiutl. These last were derived, after 1895, from Tongas prototypes of southern Alaska. (N.M.C., 102969). .................................................. 849


554. Tlingit totems of southern Alaska restored and standing in front of Walter C. Waters' Bear Totem Store at Wrangell, Alaska. .................................................. 850

555. Tlingit totems in front of Walter C. Waters' Store at Wrangell. (N.M.C., 87607). .................................................. 851


558. Tlingit totem in Sitka Park. (Schaller, Ketchikan). .................................................. 853


LEGEND FOR MAP SHOWING POSITION OF INDIAN VILLAGES

Tlingit
1. Klukwan
2. Chilkat
3. Juneau
4. Sitka
5. Telegraph Creek
6. Stikine Glacier
7. Wrangell
8. Klawock
9. Ketchikan
10. Saxman
11. Cape Fox
12. Tongas

Haida (Kaigani)
13. Tuxecan
14. Kasaan
15. Hydaburg
16. Sukkwan
17. Howkan
18. Cape Chacon

Haida
19. Langara Island
20. Frederick Island
21. Hipps
22. Virago
23. Yan
24. Massett
25. Tow Hill
26. Cape Ball
27. Skidegate
28. Tsahl
29. New Gold Harbour
30. Cumshewa
31. Skedans
32. Tanu
33. Ninstints
34. Tasu

Tsimsyan (Niskæ)
35. Nass River
36. Kacinolith
37. Gitiks
38. Gitrahadeen
39. Gwunahaw
40. Gitwinkshilk
41. Gitlarhdamks
42. Volcano

Tsimsyan proper
43. Fort Simpson (1831)
44. Port Simpson (1833)
45. Metlakatla
46. Prince Rupert
47. Port Essington
48. Kitsemkælem
49. Kitaslas Canyon
50. Gitrahla
51. Kitamat
52. Hartley Bay

Tsimsyan (Gitksan)
53. Kitwanga
54. Gitwinkwil
55. Gitsegyukla
56. Hazelton
57. Kispayaks
58. Kiskagas
59. Qaldo

Kwakiutl
60. Bella Bella
61. Rivers Inlet
62. Smith Inlet
63. Hope Island
64. Koskimo
65. Blunden Harbour
66. Fort Rupert
67. Alert Bay
68. Kingscome Inlet
69. Gilford Island
70. Turnour Island
71. Knight Inlet
72. Cape Mudge

Nootka
73. Quatsino
74. Klayuqahht
75. Nootka Sound
76. Friendly Cove
77. Zeballos
78. Alberni

Salish
79. Campbell River
80. Comox
81. Nainaimo
82. Vancouver
83. Victoria
84. Port Townsen